

FRONTIS



PIECE.



A Scotch Warrior and an English Baron performing their Vows of Friendship at the Altar of Concord - The Heads on the Columns, Edinburgh Castle at a Distance, & the Picture hanging on the Wall of the Temple, point out the happy Union of both Kingdoms, the Articles of which are presenting to Queen Anne.

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P R E F A C E.

IT will undoubtedly afford peculiar Pleasure to every Native of Scotland, and likewise to every inquisitive Englishman, to have an Opportunity of perusing the History of that ancient Country, divested of the Obscurity in which fabulous Writers have involved it. For this valuable Purpose, we have endeavoured to give a complete Detail of the most remarkable Transactions and Events that have occurred respecting that Nation, from the earliest Accounts of Time, to the Union of the two Kingdoms in the Reign of Queen Anne; and have also subjoined every striking Occurrence relative to Scotland, since that memorable Æra, to the present Reign.

A faithful Relation of the Wars in which Scotland had for many Centuries been engaged with her Sister Kingdom, together with her civil Diffensions, internal Policy,

fluctuating State arising from the restless and martial Disposition of it's Inhabitants, and the Conduct of the various Monarchs who governed it, will, we presume, render this Work equally useful and entertaining to the now united People of both Countries.

We have industriously avoided giving any private Opinion of our own with respect to such Matters as may appear doubtful, and are not sufficiently clear from ancient Historians; chusing rather to leave the Reader therein to his own private Judgment and more mature Investigation.

We trust it will appear to the candid Public, that this Undertaking (the principal Aim of which has been to place Things in their true and genuine light, free from Fable and Conjecture) will prove generally acceptable to Persons of every Denomination; and tend not merely to delight the Fancy, but inform the Mind, and furnish it with interesting Facts: the Attainment of which desirable End, is the sincere and ultimate Wish of the Author,

ROBERT MURRAY.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

KINGS AND QUEENS.

Pointing out when they began their Reigns, and in what Page an Account thereof is given.

Names of the Kings & Queens.	Began their Reigns.	Page.	Names of the Kings & Queens.	Began their Reigns.	Page.
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Eugene VI.	689	43	David I.	1124	ib.
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Etfm	730	44	Alexander III.	1249	71
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Achaius	787	ib.	Edward Baliol	1332	ib.
Conval	819	ib.	Robert II.	1370	105
Dungal	824	46	Robert III.	1390	108
Alpin	831	ib.	James I.	1405	112
Keneth II.	834	47	James II.	1437	119
Donald V.	855	48	James III.	1460	127
Constantine II.	858	10	James IV.	1488	133
Eth	874	ib.	James V.	1514	140
Gregory	875	ib.	Mary I. & Henry	1542	155
Donald VI.	892	49	James VI.	1557	183
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Malcolm I.	938	ib.	Charles II.	1651	245
Induff	947	51	James VII.	1685	266
Duff	961	ib.	William II. and		
Culen	965	ib.	Mary II.	1688	271
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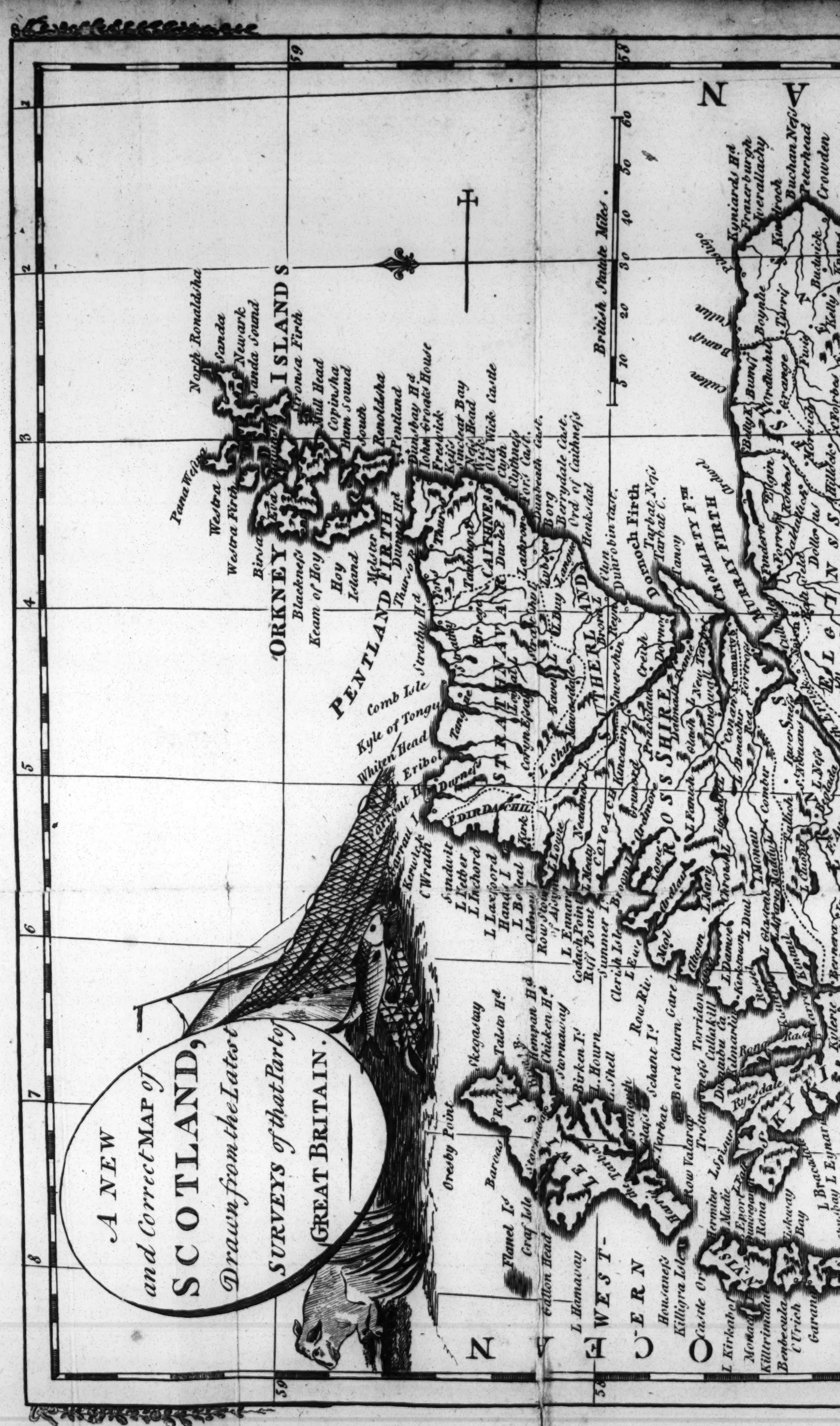
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A NEW
and Correct MAP of
SCOTLAND,
Drawn from the Latest
SURVEYS of that Part of
GREAT BRITAIN.





Note these Islands are placed here because they are in a higher Latitude than what the Scale of this Map will admit of

As ancient tradition, respecting the antiquity of the Scots nation, has been greatly exaggerated, and abounds with fable, as well as contradictory accounts, we deemed it unnecessary to take any further notice of them, than barely to mention, that some fabulous writers, in order to give their origin a more noble appearance, have taken it from the Trojan fugitives; while others have derived it from those Greek heroes whose posterity conquered Troy; and a third sort from Spanish emigrants, who first settled in Ireland. But the most probable opinion is, that they came from that part of Gaul (then called France) which is most contiguous to North-Britain; as the Gauls sent colonies thither in search of support for their too numerous inhabitants. To this we may add, the concurrent and authentic testimony of Greek and Roman authors; who assure us, that the ancient Caledonians were originally a colony of Celts from Gaul, who had themselves wandered thither from the Lesser-Asia. The place they finally settled in being named Cael-Doch, the country of the Celts or Gauls, the Romans, by transposing the *l* in Cael and changing the harsh *ch* of Doch into an harmonious ending, formed Caledonia; by which name the lands northward of the Friths of Forth and Clyde were anciently called. Some assert, that the posterity of these settlers were stiled Picts, from painting their bodies with woad; but others affirm with more probability, that the latter came from Scythia, and inhabited part of Scotland. Ammianus Marcellinus says, the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacotti, vexed Britain with perpetual injuries, by their frequent incursions after the Roman conquest.

Scotland

Scotland is now a flourishing country, being situated between 1 and 6° of west longitude, and 54 and 59° of north latitude. It is about 280 miles long and 160 broad; bounded on the north by the Caledonian ocean; on the east by the German; by the rivers Tweed and Elk, which divide it from England, on the south, and by the Atlantic and Irish sea on the west.

The northern part of Scotland is called the Highlands, and the southern the Lowlands; which are divided into the following counties:

1. The southern part contains, Tiviotdale, Tweeddale, March, Lauderdale, Liddesdale, Eskdale, Annandale, Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, Cunningham, Arran, Clydesdale, Lenox, Stirling, Fife, Strathern, Monteith, Argyle, Cantire, and Lorne. 2. The northern part contains, Lochaber, Broadalbin, Perth, Athol, Angus, Merns, Marr, Buchan, Murray, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, and Strathnaver. Those counties are again subdivided into sheriffdoms, stewartries, and bailiwicks. The climate is temperate, the air seldom clear, and often darkened by mists.

It has several good harbours well adapted to commerce and foreign trade; and is very fertile in the necessaries of life. Copper, iron, lead, and coal, are produced in the mountains. In her forests, which are from twenty to thirty miles long, there is plenty of timber: hemp and flax are also produced in other parts of the country, which yields a great quantity of corn; and the rivers abound with fish.

The inhabitants of the extremity of the island, where it is colder, eat bread made of oatmeal; and drink a wine, or strong liquor, made of damaged corn; some boil whey, and keep it in a

hogthead under ground for some months ; which is reckoned a wholesome and pleasant drink.

The Highlands of Scotland are a picturesque, but in general a melancholy country. Long tracts of mountainous desert, covered with dark heath, and often obscured by misty weather ; narrow vallies thinly inhabited, and bounded by precipices, resounding with the fall of torrents ; a soil so rugged, and a climate so dreary, as in many parts to admit neither the amusements of pasturage, nor the labours of agriculture. The ancient Highlanders formerly supported themselves by hunting, fishing, and war : their pretensions to second-sight are not sufficiently grounded in reality to be credited by sensible people.

Scotland has many islands near it ; the chief of which are the Orcades, which lie scattered in the north of Scotland, partly in the Deucalionian, and partly in the German sea ; they are computed to be thirty-three in number : thirteen inhabited ; the rest being left to feed cattle upon. Next to the Orcades are the Shetland islands ; the greatest of which is called the Continent or Main Land : it is sixty miles in length, and sixteen broad ; on the east side of which are many petty islands.

As the old Highlanders still retain a few of the ancient customs, we shall here give a slight sketch of their more immediate progenitors.

It is generally agreed that the Caledonians were tall, well made, and most of them yellow haired. The skins of beasts wrapt round them, was, at first, their only clothing ; but afterwards they wore plain and party-coloured mantles, which were fastened at top by a contrivance like the present breast-buckle : this was of either brass or iron ; which metals they greatly esteemed, and wore in
rings

rings round their necks and bodies. The woman's mantle reached down to the ankle, the man's not so low; and this distinguished the dress of the males and females. They fed on venison, milk, and the natural growth of their fields and woods; some say that they scrupled to eat fish, hares, and poultry. After they had killed their game in hunting, they dressed it, by making a pit which they lined with smooth stones; on these, properly heated, they put some venison, then a layer of stones over it; and so alternately till the pit was full, confining the steam with heath. At these feasts, they drank out of shells a strong liquor made of barley, which they called Curmi; and which, according to some, was what is now called Usquebaugh, the favourite liquor of the present Highlanders. They lived chiefly in the woods, in huts made of sod, and covered with turf: some of the heads of clans had little stone castles built on eminences.

It was usual for ten or twenty relations or friends of the Caledonians to live together, and have their wives in common; lying promiscuously on one continued bed of rushes, fern, or leaves. The wife of a Caledonian prince being rallied, on this account, by the empress Julia, and other ladies, at the court of Severus, is said to have made this smart repartee; "We only do that
" openly, with the flower of our men, which you
" do in secret with the scum of yours." By this custom, barbarous as it was, they prevented causeless jealousies as well as real adultery; and made a more general concern for the education of their children, who were always looked upon as the issue of the man that originally married the mother. Agriculture and trade were but faintly prosecuted.

profecuted by them, if at all. Distant clans plundered each other; but they were hospitable to strangers, and used to exchange weapons with them in token of friendship. Foreigners deemed them a healthy, strong, and brave people. War was their chief study; hunting their exercise; running, leaping, wrestling, throwing the dart, heaving large stones, and darting the lance (at which last they were particularly expert) were their accomplishments. In battle, they used darts, spears, long swords, and small shields stained with different colours. Their spears or lances, which they used more than other weapons, had a piece of brass, in shape of an egg, fixed to the lower end of them; and, as they usually attacked their enemies in the darkest nights, they shook these to terrify them with the noise. Like the Britons of the South, they fought also with chariots, having sharp pieces of iron, like scythes, fastened to the axle, which, in the furious manner they drove, made a terrible havock. Vestiges still remain in many parts of Scotland, to demonstrate that their worship was Druidism. The Caledonians appear to have worshipped the sun and moon, under the names of Granniüs and Diana, and stood in great awe of their priests the Druids.

We do not find that the Caledonians were governed by any particular laws; and if there had been any, the sword in the hands of men under no regular government would perhaps have rendered them useless. The ashes of their great warriors, at their decease, were deposited in urns; which, with his sword, and the heads of twelve arrows, were enclosed in a kind of coffin made with six large stones, which they buried six or eight feet deep. Four stones marked the extent of the grave;

grave; on which it was reckoned a mark of respect, for passengers to pile other stones; the larger, the more respectful. This accounts for those stony hillocks in many parts of Scotland, which the Highlanders called Cairnes; and when they would comfort a dying friend, "*I shall add a stone to your cairne,*" is yet a common saying with them. The religion of the old Scots made them superstitious. Sanctified girdles were wrapped about women in labour, to ease their pains, and forward the birth. They imagined that storms were raised by the ghosts of the dead, who transported themselves from place to place; and it was supposed that they hovered over, assisted, and protected them in battle.

After having thus given a short account of the manners, customs, and genius of the Caledonians, from whom the Picts and Scots are said to be really descended, we shall now proceed, without interruption, to the history itself. But the reader will please to observe, that the first thirty-nine kings, mentioned by some writers, seem to be erroneously grounded on the Irish descent of the Scots; nevertheless, in order to render our history more complete, we shall enumerate them in a genealogical list, beginning with

FERGUS I. the First King of Scotland,

Who was the son of Ferchard, a prince of Ireland; and began to reign A. M. 3641, before Christ 330 years. He was shipwrecked on the Irish coast, near Carrickfergus, and died in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.

FERITHARIS, the Second King,

Began to reign A. M. 3666, before Christ 305. He was brother to Fergus, and a just man. Having reigned fourteen years, he was slain by means of Ferlegus, brother's son to Fergus.

MAINUS, the Third King,

Succeeded, A. M. 3668, before Christ 296. He was a wise and good king, and reigned twenty-eight years.

DORNADILLA, the Fourth King,

Began his reign A. M. 3710, before Christ 261, which continued twenty-seven years.

NOTHATUS, the Fifth King,

Succeeded Dornadilla, A. M. 3732, before Christ 233. Being a cruel tyrant, he was slain by one of his nobles, in the twentieth year of his reign.

REUTHERUS, the Sixth King,

Began his reign A. M. 3758, before Christ 213. He was a pretty good king, and reigned twenty-five years.

REUTHA, the Seventh King,

Succeeded Reutherus, A. M. 3784, before Christ 187. He reigned well; but quitted the kingdom, and led a private life, after a reign of fourteen years.

THEREUS, the Eighth King,

Was the son of Reutherus. He began to reign A. M. 3798, before Christ 173; was an imprudent

JOSINA. FINNANUS. DURSTUS, &c. 33.
imprudent and cruel tyrant. His nobles expelled
and banished him in the twelfth year of his reign.
He died in the city of York.

JOSINA, the Ninth King,

Ascended the throne A. M. 3810, before
Christ 161. He reigned peaceably twenty-three
years.

FINNANUS, the Tenth King,

Was the son of Josina, and began to reign
A. M. 3834, before Christ 137. He was a good
king, but much addicted to the Druidish supersti-
tion; he reigned twenty-nine years.

DURSTUS, the Eleventh King,

Succeeded to his father Finnanus, A. M. 3863,
before Christ 107. Being a cruel tyrant, he was
slain in battle, by his nobles, in the ninth year of
his reign.

EVENUS I. the Twelfth King,

Succeeded his brother Durstus, A. M. 3873,
before Christ 98. He was a wise and virtuous
prince, and reigned eighteen years.

GILIUS, the Thirteenth King,

Was a natural son of Evenus, and succeeded to
his father, A. M. 3892, before Christ 79. He
was a crafty tyrant; and was slain in battle by
Cadallus, in the second year of his reign.

EVENUS II. the Fourteenth King.

He was the son of Dovallus, and brother of
king Finnanus; began to reign A. M. 3894, be-

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fore Christ 77. He was a good king, and reigned sixteen years.

E D E R U S, the Fifteenth King.

He was the grandson of Dursus, and began to reign A. M. 3911, before Christ 60. A wise and valiant prince. He died in the forty-eighth year of his reign.

E V E N U S III. the Sixteenth King,

Succeeded to his father Ederus, A. M. 3959, before Christ 12. He was a covetous, luxurious, and immoral king. His nobles cast him into prison; where he died in the seventh year of his reign.

M E T E L L A N U S, the Seventeenth King,

Was brother's son to Ederus, and began his reign A. M. 3966, before Christ five years. He was a prudent prince, and reigned thirty-eight years. Our Saviour Christ was born, and suffered death in his reign.

C A R A T A C U S, the Eighteenth King.

He was the son of Cadallanus and Eropeia, and began to reign A. M. 4005, after Christ 34. He was a wise and valiant king, and reigned twenty years.

C O R B R E D I. the Nineteenth King,

Succeeded his brother Caratacus A. M. 4025, A. C. 54. He was a just and wise prince, and reigned seventeen years.

D A R D A.

DARDANUS, the Twentieth King.

He was nephew to Metallanus, and began his reign A. M. 4043, A. C. 72. He was a cruel tyrant, and, being taken in battle, was beheaded by his own subjects, after he had reigned only three years.

CORBRED II. the Twenty-first King.

He was surnamed Galdus, and son to Corbred I. He ascended the throne A. M. 4047, A. C. 76. He was a worthy and valiant king, and signalized himself greatly against the Romans:—he reigned thirty-four years.

LUCTACUS, the Twenty-second King,

Succeeded to his father Corbred II. A. M. 4082, A. C. 111. He was a lecherous and bloody tyrant, and slain by his nobles in the third year of his reign.

MOGALDUS, the Twenty-third King.

He was son to the sister of Corbred II. and began to reign A. M. 4085, A. C. 114. He was at first a virtuous and victorious prince; but, at length, degenerating to tyranny, lust, and covetousness, he was slain by his nobles in the thirty-sixth year of his reign.

CONARUS, the Twenty-fourth King,

Succeeded to his father Mogaldus, A. M. 4121, A. C. 150. Being a libidinous tyrant, he was thrown into prison by his nobles; where he died in the fourteenth year of his reign: Argadus being made governor.

ETHODIUS I. the Twenty-fourth King.

He was son to the sister of Mogaldus; and began his reign, A. M. 1435, A. C. 154. He was a good prince; but was slain by an Irish harper in the thirty-third year of his reign.

SATRAEL, the Twenty-sixth King,

Succeeded to his brother Ethodius I. A. M. 4168, A. C. 197. He was a cruel tyrant, and slain by his courtiers in the fourth year of his reign.

DONALD I. the Twenty-seventh King.

He was the first Christian king of Scotland, and succeeded to his brother Satrael A. M. 4172, A. C. 201. He was a good and religious king, and the first who coined gold or silver money in Scotland. He reigned seventeen years.

ETHODIUS II. the Twenty-eighth King,

Succeeded to the throne A. M. 1490, A. C. 219. He was an unwise base-minded king, governed by his nobles; his guards slew him in the sixteenth year of his reign.

ATHIRCO, the Twenty-ninth King,

Was the successor of his father Ethodius II. A. M. 4206, A. C. 235. He was at first a valiant prince; but having degenerated and become vicious, and being pursued by his nobles for his wicked life, slew himself in the twelfth year of his reign.

NATHA.

NATHALOCUS, the Thirtieth King.

He was son to the brother of Athirco, and began to reign A. M. 4218, A. C. 247. He was a cruel tyrant, slain by his nobles, and afterwards cast into a privy, when he had reigned ten years.

FINDOCHUS, the Thirty-first King,

Began his reign A. M. 4229, A. C. 258. He was a good and valiant king; but was nevertheless slain by feigned hunters, at the instigation of his brother Donald, lord of the isles, in the eleventh year of his reign.

DONALD II. the Thirty-second King,

Succeeded to his brother Findochus, A. M. 4239, A. C. 269. He was a good prince; but, being overcome in battle and wounded, died of grief in the first year of his reign.

DONALD III. the Thirty-third King.

He was lord of the Isles, and brother to Findochus. Began his reign A. M. 4240, A. C. 270. He was a cruel tyrant, and slain by his successor in the twelfth year of his reign.

CRATHALINTHUS, the Thirty-fourth King,

Was the son of Findochus; and began to reign A. M. 4252, A. C. 282. He was a valiant and godly king; having purged the land of the Druidish superstition, and planted Christianity: he reigned twenty-three years. Constantine the Great was said to have been born in England in his time.

FINCOR-

FINCORMACHUS, the Thirty-fifth King.

He was son to the brother of Crathilinthus's father, and began to reign A. M. 4276, A. C. 304. He was a valiant and godly prince, and promoted Christianity in Scotland. He reigned forty-six years.

ROMACHUS, the Thirty-sixth King,

Was brother's son to Crathilinthus, and began his reign A. M. 4223, A. C. 351. He being a cruel prince, was slain by his nobles, who beheaded him, after a reign of two years.

ANGUSIANUS, the Thirty-seventh King.

He was also brother's son to Crathilinthus, and succeeded to Romachus, A. M. 4326, A. C. 354. He was a good king, and slain in battle by the Picts, after he had reigned two years.

FETHELMACHUS, the Thirty-eighth King,

Was another brother's son of Crathilinthus, and began his reign A. M. 4329, A. C. 357. He was a valiant king; overcame the Picts, and slew their king; but was afterwards betrayed to them by a harper, who slew him in his own chamber, in the third year of his reign.

EUGENIUS, the Thirty-ninth King.

He was the son of Fincormachus, and began his reign A. C. 360. He was a valiant, just, and good king. The Picts and Romans slew him in battle in the third year of his reign. At this time, the whole Scots nation was expelled the isle by the above-mentioned invaders, and remained in exile about forty-four years.

Edward

Edward the first of England, having, in the fourteenth century, destroyed the records of Scotland, has left little else to be transmitted of the above-mentioned kings, nor of those who filled the throne till near that æra, than that they lived and died. However, as we think it proper the whole should be mentioned, as well for the sake of method, as to preserve chronology, which is essential to history, we have carefully collected the following information, which, together with the foregoing, we presume, will be found to be the most accurate account that is recorded concerning the history, from the first establishment of monarchy in Scotland.

FERGUS II. the Fortieth King.

His rank or dignity, before he ascended the throne, 403, is uncertain; but it is pretty plain he was a native of Scotland. He greatly harrassed the Britons, till, in 418, they called the Romans to their assistance; his army was then defeated in a pitched battle, and he himself slain.

EUGENE II. the Forty-first King.

Eugene succeeded him, and followed his steps. The Romans were very soon called home, so that the Britons, unable of themselves to stand against him, sued for peace; which was offered them on the following conditions: "1st. That
 "the Britons receive no assistance from any foreign
 "power; and if any of them should voluntarily
 "visit them, that they oppose their progress. 2d.
 "That, without the concurrence of the Scots, the
 "Britons shall neither make war nor peace. 3d.
 "That the river Humber be the boundary of their
 "kingdom.

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"kingdom. And 4thly. That they pay down a certain sum for the use of the Scots soldiers, which, as a fine, should be continued annually." For the performance of these articles, two hostages were demanded; but the Britons not chusing to submit to them, invited over the Saxons, by whose aid they routed the Scots at Grantham, in Lincolnshire; and Eugene was drowned in the river Humber.

D O N G A R D, the Forty-second King.

In 452, Dongard, Eugene's brother and successor, made peace, and continued on good terms with them till his death, which happened in 457, in the same year.

C O N S T A N T I N E, the Forty-third King.

Constantine, who was another brother of Eugene's, next filled the throne; of whom different writers give the most opposite characters. He lived till 479, when his place was supplied by his nephew

C O N G A L, the Forty-fourth King.

Congal, though in the main a peaceable prince, had, some say, several skirmishes with the Saxons.

G O R A N, the Forty-fifth King.

In 501, Congal was succeeded by his brother Goran, who, swerving from the principles of justice with which he began his reign, was, together with one Toncet, his iniquitous justiciary, put to death.

EUGENE III.

EUGENE III. the Forty-sixth King.

Eugene III. succeeded his uncle Goran in 535. He assisted the famous king Arthur against the Saxons, till the end of his reign in 558.

CONVAL, the Forty-seventh King.

Conval, brother and successor to Eugene, continued the alliance; and another brother,

KINNATEL, the Forty-eighth King,

Mounted the throne, but being consumptive, reigned only a year.

AIDAN, the Forty-ninth King.

Aidan, the son of Goran, being in 569 king, cleared the province of Galloway of many bands of robbers that infested it: after which, he grew jealous of the power of Ethelfred, king of the Northumbrians, and invaded his territories; but received at last such a mortifying defeat, that, on his return home, he is said to have died of grief. Some authors affirm, that the city of Edinburgh is indebted to this monarch for her origin and name.

KENETH, the Fiftieth King,

Keneth, Conval's son, succeeded, who reigning but twelve months, the crown next came to Aidan's son,

EUGENE III. the Fifty-first King,

Who enjoyed it peaceably sixteen years. It then devolved on his eldest son,

FERCHARD,

FERCHARD, the Fifty-second King,

Who destroyed himself in a dungeon, to which he was confined by his subjects, on account of his vicious life.

DONALD, the Fifty-third King,

Was the brother of Ferchard, who sat next on the throne, in 632, which, on his death in 646, was filled by Donald's nephew,

FERCHARD II. the Fifty-fourth King,

Who died after a quiet reign of eighteen years, resulting from his good management, according to some; though others brand him as a monster of vice.

MALDUIN, the Fifty-fifth King.

In 664, Malduin, the son of Donald, succeeded; he was a prince of great virtue. He quelled an insurrection in the shires of Argyle and Lenox, which had arisen in the beginning of his reign; the remainder of which, being in perfect peace at home and abroad, he spent in acts of piety: nevertheless, his queen, it is said, in a fit of jealousy, had him murdered; for which fact she and many of her accomplices were burnt.

EUGENE V. the Fifty-sixth King,

We find on the throne in 684, Malduin's nephew, Eugene V. who defeated the Saxons that had designed to invade Galloway; he reigned five years, and was then succeeded, in 680, by Ferchard's son,

EUGENE VI.

EUGENE VI. the Fifty-seventh King,

Who died in 697, leaving his crown to his nephew

AMBERKELETH, the Fifty-eighth King,

Who was killed by an arrow in the second year of his reign, as he was easing himself in a wood. His brother,

EUGENE VII. the Fifty-ninth King,

Then mounting the throne, concluded a solemn treaty with the Picts, with whom his ancestors had been at variance for more than a century. In order to ratify it, he married Spondona, the daughter of Garnard, king of that nation. Spondona was shortly afterwards murdered in her bed by two men, who mistook her for the king, against whose life they had conspired, for having put to death their father. Eugene himself, being suspected guilty of the fact, was ordered by his own, as well as by the Pictish nobility, to appear at their assembly, and take his trial; before which time, the assassins being apprehended, they absolved the king by a public confession. Eugene was so nettled at this indignity, that he could scarcely be prevailed on to avoid an open rupture with the persons who had accused him. He had nothing after this to disturb the peace of his reign, which terminated in 715.

MURDAC, the Sixtieth King.

Murdac, the son of Amberkeleth, succeeded Eugene VI. in 715. He was a pious prince, and repaired the churches and monasteries which had been

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been injured by war: he died in 730, when the crown was worn by

E T F I N, the Sixty-first King.

Etfin, the son of Eugene VI. in 730, is said to have been an excellent monarch: towards the latter end of his reign, growing unfit for state affairs, he appointed four of his nobility as regents, who abused their trust and power, as has since but too often happened, striving only to enrich themselves. The good old king died of grief in 761, on being unable to silence the clamours of his subjects, by removing these obnoxious ministers.

E U G E N E VIII. the Sixty-second King.

Eugene VIII. the son of Murdac, acceding to the throne, called the late regents to account; one of whom he put to death, and inflicted heavy fines on the others. But reclining in the arms of peace, afterwards gave a loose to his irregular passions, and growing at last infinitely worse than the regents had been, was deservedly put to death.

F E R G U S III. the Sixty-third King,

The son of Etfin, being next in succession, accordingly became king Fergus III. Proving very libidinous, he fell a sacrifice to the jealous resentment of his queen; who, whilst many persons, suspected to have been guilty of the murder were in torture, confessed the deed, and immediately stabbed herself.

SELVAC,

S E L V A C, the Sixty-fourth King.

Selvac, the son of Eugene VIII. then ascended the throne, and proved both wise and just. In the third year of his reign, one Donald Bane, who called himself lord of the isles, committed depredations in Cantire and Lorn; Selvac sent a body of forces against him, which put him and all his followers to the sword. Soon after this, Gelcolm, son of Donald, made an insurrection in Galloway; but being taken with his principal followers, their punishment put a stop to further mischief: this king died of the gout in 787, and was succeeded by

A C H A I U S, the Sixty-fifth King,

And son of Etfín. The Irish, upon his accession, made a descent on Cantire; but the inhabitants soon expelled them. Suffering the loss of many ships in their voyage home, and fearing that the Scots would pay them a visit in their turn, ambassadors were sent from that nation to adjust matters with Achaius, who accordingly concluded a very satisfactory treaty. It is reported that Charlemagne entered into the most friendly alliance with this king, and that they assisted each other with troops. Achaius likewise, at Charles's desire, sent over to him many men of the best learning. His preceptor Alcuin being a Scotsman, not a little contributed to improve the friendship between these monarchs, whose successors maintained the intercourse for a series of years.

C O N V A L, the Sixty-sixth King.

After a reign of thirty-two years in peace, and with the greatest reputation, Achaius was succeeded

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ceeded by his nephew Conval in 819, who dying in five years, the throne was then filled by

DUNGAL, the Sixty-seventh King,

The son of Selvac, in 824, though not till after a slight opposition from some of his subjects, who endeavoured to bring in Alpin, son of Achaius: he appears rather to have desired the Pictish throne, which was then vacant; but the Picts preferred one of their own noblemen. Alpin considering this preference as a great affront, Dungal generously engaged to force the Picts to elect him, and marched at the head of a large army for that purpose; but being drowned in crossing the river Spey,

ALPIN, the Sixty-eighth King,

Became king of Scotland in 831, and, still grasping at the Pictish throne, marched onward. The Picts hearing his intentions, sent offers of peace; but Alpin refusing every submission but an absolute surrender of the crown, they prepared to give him battle. Before the engagement, Brudus, the Pictish king, ordered every attendant, man or woman, to mount on horseback; and while both armies were fiercely engaged, these appearing as he had commanded them, struck such a panic into the Scots, who considering them as a reinforcement of regular troops, and turning tail, they were slaughtered like sheep. Alpin and the chief of his nobility were taken prisoners: the latter they put to death before they quitted the field; and at their return home, as they refused the greatest ransom for him, the king was beheaded at a place now called Pitalpy.

KENETH II.

KENETH II. the Sixty-ninth King.

Keneth II. the son of Alpin, succeeding in 834, and being strongly bent on revenging his father's murder, is said to have influenced his nobility (who seemed rather averse to the feud) by the following contrivance : A person, dressed in fish skins, entered the hall wherein they slept after a feast the king had given them, and with a long tube thundered in their ears the most dreadful threatenings if they did not revenge the death of Alpin. The luminous appearance which this man made, joined to the king's solemn declaration of having also been visited by such an apparition, made them conclude him to be an angel sent on the occasion ; they therefore instantly concurred with Keneth's measures, who, mustering all his forces, determined to exterminate the whole race of Picts : he infused a strong spirit of revenge into all his army, by giving " The death of Alpin " as the watchword. When they joined battle with the Picts, being victorious, they spared neither age nor sex. Drunken, in order to stop their progress, offered half his kingdom ; but Keneth declaring for all or none, the Pictish king united his strength and hazarded another battle ; in which being slain, and his whole army either put to the sword, or drowned in the Tay, every Pictish settlement immediately surrendered to Keneth, who thereupon stiled himself king of the Picts as well as the Scots, and was properly the first monarch of Scotland. After this conquest, by which the name of Picts was for the most part absorbed, in the general one of Scots, Keneth sat down contented ; and having made many excellent

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cellent laws, his glorious reign terminated in the year 854. He was succeeded by his brother

DONALD V. the Seventieth King.

Against whom some of the Picts revolting, they were subdued by others more loyal: he reigned after this in great tranquillity; and in 858, his nephew,

CONSTANTINE V. the Seventy-first King,

Mounting the throne, the disaffected Picts went over to Denmark, and invited the Danes to join with them in the recovery of their kingdom. They accordingly readily came over, and, landing in Fife, committed many cruelties. The king, being apprised of this, marched against them with the best army he could then collect; but as there were many Picts therein, who in the heat of battle joined the Danes, the Scots were totally routed; Constantine himself being taken prisoner, was carried to a cave by the sea side and there beheaded.

E T H, the Seventy-second King.

His brother, surnamed Swiftfoot, was then declared king, but pusillanimously suffering the Danes to ravage the country with impunity, his nobility, at the end of his first year's reign, put him to death, and in his stead, proclaimed Gregory, the son of Dongal, in 875.

GREGORY, the Seventy-third King.

Immediately on his accession, Gregory marched against the Danes and Picts, whom he drove from Fife into Northumberland: they had, however, thrown a garrison into Berwick, which
having

having subdued, he puts the Danes to the sword; and, making prisoners of the Picts, passed the winter in that province. Alfred the Great, of England, being charmed with the martial spirit of Gregory, proffered an alliance for the security of both nations. This was no sooner agreed on, than Gregory, hearing that the kingdom of Ireland was usurped by two noblemen, determined to go over and settle on the throne Donach, the minor king, who was his cousin. The usurpers, who had before been at variance, now joined their forces, and prepared to dispute his landing: their efforts, however, proving ineffectual, Gregory drove them before him, till Brian being killed, Corneil retreated to Dublin, where receiving a reinforcement, he gave Gregory battle, but was defeated and slain. Gregory, upon this, declared himself guardian to young Donach, appointed a regency, left many of his troops in garrison, and then returned home: but when Donach came of age, he exchanged the hostages he had received from the Irish in token of fidelity, for the troops which he had left behind him in that country. This monarch, justly surnamed Great, after having built the city of Aberdeen, died in the castle of Dundee, in the year 892. To Gregory succeeded, in 892.

DONALD VI. the Seventy-fourth King.

He was the son of Constantine, proved a pacific prince, and governed with prudence and justice: he died in 903, when Constantine, Eth Swiftfoot's son, next acceded.

CONSTANTINE III. the Seventy-fifth King.

This monarch began his reign by making an alliance with the Danes. He then settled the county of Cumberland on Malcolm, the late king's son; and in the tenth year of his reign, made a law that every future heir apparent of the kingdom, should be made prince of it. Athelstan, the natural-son of Edward (to whom English historians affirm, though Scots writers deny, that Constantine paid homage) succeeding to the crown of England, and considering Cumberland as part of it, made the necessary demand on Malcolm. The prince, refusing to give up Cumberland, was obliged to take the field in it's defence. He was supported by the Danes and Scots; and Anlus, an Irish prince, who was son-in-law to Constantine, came over to their assistance. These united powers were attacked by Athelstan, who, after a fierce and obstinate battle, gained a complete victory. Constantine died in the Cul-dee monastery of St. Andrew's, in 943, having resigned his crown, in 938, to

MALCOLM, the Seventy-sixth King.

He cultivated peace; till, having by his great care, soon recovered the former condition of his kingdom, he became ally to Edmund of England; that monarch having previously restored Cumberland. Some add, that, in consideration of this grant, Malcolm agreed to attend the English king at all his festivals and parliaments. Malcolm, having assisted the English in taking Northumberland, returned home; and being severe in the administration of justice, was murdered

dered by some villains at Ulrine, in the county of Murray, after reigning upwards of eight years.

INDUFF, the Seventy-seventh King,

The son of Constantine, acceded to the crown on Malcolm's assassination. The Scots are said to have recovered, under this king, the city of Edinburgh, which some affirm to have been alternately possessed by the Danes and Saxons. Induff, dying in the year 961, was succeeded by

DUFF, the Seventy-eighth King,

The son of Malcolm; he proved a virtuous prince, and was particularly careful to suppress robberies. As the reign of this king was barren of events, Buchanan has supplied that defect from his own fancy. He tells a story, that some persons saw a waxen image of king Duff on a spit, before a large fire raised by witches, who reported that Duff's body should really melt like that wax; which this historian says did literally happen, though he does not enforce the belief as authentic. Duff dying in 965, the crown devolved on

CULEN, the Seventy-ninth King.

He was the son of Induff; and proving a most execrable monster, his kingdom, from his bad example, became the seat of fraud and rapine. This brute having ravished the daughter of Cadard, thane of Fife, the father soon after dispatched him.

KENETH, the Eightieth King.

He was the son of Malcolm; and ascending the throne in 970, by his wisdom and conduct

established good order and government. Matters were scarcely settled to his satisfaction, before a considerable fleet of Danes paid him a very unwelcome visit. Keneth collecting his forces, and conjuring them, as they valued their lives and liberties, to stand boldly against these enemies, who, he told them, were also foes to honour, truth, and justice, promised a considerable reward for every Danish head; notwithstanding which, it seems, that, in the battle, the Scots were seized with a sudden panic, and were flying with the greatest precipitation, till a yeoman of the name of Hay, and his two sons, stopt their inglorious countrymen at a narrow pass; and, partly by threats and blows, having made an halt, persuaded them to face the enemy. Hay and his sons then, armed only with the yokes which they had just used at plough, leading the van, gave the Danes a total overthrow. After the battle, the king gave Hay the barony of Errol, as a reward for his signal services. Peace now succeeding the late victory, Keneth began to consider of his son's succession; and to that end, having caused to be assassinated the person whom his people had made prince of Cumberland, he repealed the old law, which made the crown devolve on the uncle, brother, or nephew, rather than on the son of a king, especially if a minor. But notwithstanding his care, he was succeeded, on his death in 994, by

CONSTANTINE IV. the Eighty-first King,

Son of Culen. He, by the assistance of friends, got the crown in spite of the late act in favour of Malcolm, Keneth's son, who was obliged to fly for his life; till being afterwards assisted by Keneth,

neth, his natural-brother, Constantine was defeated and slain, in 996.

G R I M, the Eighty-second King.

The throne being now vacant on the death of Constantine IV. Grim, grandson to king Duff, insisting on his right to the throne by the old law, accordingly acceded to it ; so that Malcolm was again disappointed. War would in all probability have therefore raged afresh, if the good bishop Tothad had not undertaken to accommodate matters: the following conditions, drawn up by him, were mutually agreed to, " That
 " Grim enjoy the crown during his life ; that it
 " then revert to Malcolm ; and after his death, to
 " the next of kin : that in consideration of Grim's
 " present enjoyment of the crown, all the lands
 " between the Forth and Tweed, and the Forth
 " and Clyde, be in the mean time granted to Mal-
 " colm." The crown being thus secured to Grim for his life, he grew so tyrannical, that the people began to wish they had chosen Malcolm ; and accordingly applying to him for redress, he raised a large army, and encountering as great a one which Grim, notwithstanding his behaviour, was still master of, he routed his forces ; and the king being slain, Malcolm ascended the throne of Scotland in 1004.

The affairs of the church next demand our consideration. It is no easy matter to determine when Scotland received the first light of Christianity. Eastern missionaries are said to have made many converts there in the third century. In the sixth century flourished the famous Columba, who crowned king Aidan, and founded the celebrated abbey at Iona. He was a divine, a poet, and an historian. In the first character,

he is said to have used so much austerity and maceration (the cardinal virtues of those superstitious times) that he reduced himself to almost a skeleton: he died at an advanced age in 603.

The Scots and English were reconciled with respect to the time for the celebration of Easter, by bishop Adamnan, a learned and worthy prelate, who succeeded Colman. He likewise procured the marriage of Spondona, the daughter of the Pictish king; and by this act, and many other good offices, he very much conciliated the affections of the Scots and Picts. In 697, Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, came into Scotland; and it is said, was offered the crown, which he refused. He built a church near Angus, at Telin, and at Restnoth; settling at last at Rosmarky, where, after having built a church, he died. Prince Fiacre, nephew to king Aidan, went about this time over to France, where many churches are dedicated to his memory, and there sequestered himself in a cave, which no intreaties could prevail with him to quit.

There were no bishops of St. Andrew's till 870; that see, which includes the counties of Fife, Lothian, Merse, Sterling, Angus, and Mearns, was then given to Adrian, who shortly after was killed by the Danes in the isle of May; from that time they had a regular succession; being first elected in Scotland, and then sent over to Rome for confirmation. It was erected into an archbishoprick by Pope Sextus IV. in 1472; the possessor was declared primate of Scotland, and the revenues at the reformation amounted in Scots money, to £2904 17s. 2d. which is about £250 sterling. Glasgow, is said to have been founded near three hundred years sooner; Alexander VI.

ander VI. erected that likewise into an archbishoprick in 1494; and at the reformation, it's revenues appeared to be £987 8s. 7d. besides meal, malt, and salmon. It is not certain whether the bishoprick of Galloway or of Orkney is the more ancient; however, it is agreed that both were established in the sixth century; the revenues of the former were found, at the reformation, to be worth £1137 11s. 8d. in money; the latter only £251 2s. 6d. exclusive of butter, oil, wax, wood, flesh, and poultry. Scotland, on the first planting of religion there, is said to have been very prolific of men of learning and character: among whom Rabanus Maurus and Maidulphus, the former of whom wrote expositions on the whole scriptures, and the latter a number of excellent tracts (all now lost to us) were unanimously celebrated: they both died at the close of the eighth century; and in the following, the no less famous Joannes Erigena.

MALCOLM II. the Eighty-third King.

The right which the father of Malcolm II. and a majority of his nobility, might have to make him heir to the crown, and thereby establish for the future a lineal succession, not being sufficiently clear to him, he would not mount the throne till they were nearly unanimous that it was legal. He then suffered himself to be crowned; and having forgiven every one that had taken up arms under Grim, whose body he ordered to be buried with his ancestors, he made his grandson Duncan his heir, and accordingly prince of Cumberland; despairing, as he was then in years, of having any male issue. He was particularly careful to preserve

peace with England; but Ethelred, by his cruel massacre of the Danes, having excited Swein their king to revenge it, that monarch, who was father to Canute the great, becoming master of England, determined also to invade Scotland. He accordingly equipped a fleet, and landed near Murray; where he defeated some troops, which Malcolm had hastily collected to stop his progress. Flushed with this success, he considered the kingdom as already subdued; but Malcolm having mustered all the troops in his power, resolved to decide the fate of his kingdom by one general battle. The Scots fought for every thing sacred and valuable; they charged, therefore, with such determined resolution, that, though victory seemed often against them, the Danes, after a most terrible carnage, were routed. Carnus, their general, was slain in the pursuit by Keith, a young nobleman who commanded the clan of Caithness. Another Scots officer, however, disputing the honour with him, it was decided, as usual in those days, after the battle, by single combat. Keith getting the better, the king dipped his finger in the officer's blood, and made three marks on the conqueror's shield, saying at the same time, VERITAS VINCIT; and hence arose the arms and motto of his descendants. After this signal victory, it is reported that Malcolm, in gratitude, divided most of his lands amongst his soldiers, reserving for himself little else than the Muehill of Scone.

Not long after, another army from Swein, under the command of his son Canute, landed in Scotland. Over this attempt, we learn, that Malcolm was sufficiently victorious to make the following peace: "That the Danes should leave Scotland, on condition that the Scots would not
" assist

“assist their enemies.” Matters continued thus till the accession of Canute to the English throne, when Duncan, refusing to pay homage for his principality of Cumberland, considering himself as bound only to the Saxons, and Canute, preparing to compel him, Malcolm marched to his grandson’s assistance; but before the two armies engaged, Duncan, by the advice of his clergy, agreed to the demand.

Notwithstanding the generosity of Malcolm, a few still remained who were the friends of his predecessor Grim. These, it was said, sought only for a convenient opportunity to dispatch Malcolm; which they effected when the good king, now eighty years of age, was at the castle of Glamis. But after the assassins had perpetrated the deed, proposing to escape by going over Forfar lake, which was then frozen, the ice gave way, and they were all drowned. Malcolm, thus barbarously murdered, was doubtless one of the greatest princes that ever swayed the Scots scepter; and some historians have highly commended him for his legislative capacity and talents.

DUNCAN I. the Eighty-fourth King.

Duncan I. grandson of the former prince, succeeded to the throne in 1034. His lenity in government seems to have given birth to a rebellion, raised by one Macdowel; against whom Banquo, thane of Lochabar, and Macbeth, the king’s cousin, being sent with troops, he and his clan were destroyed. On their return, they found the Danes, under the command of Swein, Canute’s brother, invading the kingdom: they therefore speedily joined the forces which Duncan

can himself had raised and headed; and the Danes being with some difficulty routed, repaired to the ships, set sail, and never afterwards visited Scotland. Peace being now established, Duncan endeavoured to reform his kingdom; while Macbeth, who was become very popular, aspired to the crown. Macbeth was at the head of a strong party, who favoured the old establishment; and being nephew to the king, imagined that if he were dead, he could easily obtain the crown. Accordingly, he determined to sacrifice his uncle; and his wife, being privy to the design, urged him to a speedy execution of it. He therefore murdered Duncan at Inverness, where he was on a yearly circuit, which he used to take round his dominions, in order to adjust the quarrels of his subjects, and redress their grievances.

MACBETH, the Eighty-fifth King.

In 1040, Macbeth was crowned at Scone, and acknowledged as king of Scotland. But Duncan's two sons, Malcolm and Donald, surnamed Bane (or the Fair) who had eluded the snares he had laid for them, gave him great uneasiness. Malcolm, the lawful heir, had fled into England, and his brother into the Ebrides or Western Isles, where he suspected they were forming schemes to dethrone him. This thought, added to the checks of that upright arbiter Conscience, made him suspicious and cruel. Banquo, the very man who had assisted him in attaining the crown, he treacherously put to death. His son Fleance escaping, alarmed the nobility; so that most of them retired to their respective castles. On this behaviour of his nobles, finding himself

himself suspected, he proceeded to open tyranny. Macduff, thane of Fife, a man of power, was thought to be attached to Malcolm, the king's son; Macbeth therefore devoted him to destruction, and inhumanly put to death his wife, his children, and his servants. Macduff having escaped, soon after reached England, where meeting prince Malcolm, he proposed that he should ask assistance of the English to regain his throne. King Edward furnished him with 10,000 men, with which, under the command of Sibard, prince of Northumberland, his mother's father, they entered Scotland. Macbeth, through his cruelties, having now only a few mercenaries to stand by him, retreated to the castle of Dunfinan, from which, on the approach of Malcolm, he fled; but being pursued, he was overtaken and killed by the injured Macduff. Thus fell Macbeth, in the year 1056; according to Buchanan, he was ten years a good king, and during seven, a most inhuman tyrant.

MALCOLM III. the Eighty-sixth King.

In the year 1057, Malcolm, surnamed Canmore, i. e. Greathead, being thus, after a long exile, restored to his country, was declared king; though not till Macbeth's son, Lulach, whom a faction had set up to oppose him, was defeated and slain. He began his reign with acts of gratitude. To Macduff, who had been so greatly instrumental towards his restoration, and to his posterity, he gave the privilege of crowning future kings, and the post of honour in all their royal armies. He next reinstated those who had been deprived of their estates by Macbeth. In these and other liberal actions he was engaged,

when William the Conqueror having reduced England, Edgar Atheling, the last male branch of the Saxon line, giving up all hopes of succeeding to the crown, on his return to Hungary, with his mother Agatha and his sisters Margaret and Christiana, was, by stress of weather, driven into Scotland. Malcolm treated them kindly, and becoming very soon enamoured with Margaret, he married her. William having intelligence of the affair, and imagining that it would raise factions in favour of Edgar, demanded that Malcolm should give him up; which being refused, William declared war with Scotland. After many battles with various success, a peace was concluded between the two kingdoms on the following terms: "That Edgar should renounce
 " all claim to the crown of England; no English
 " exiles be henceforth admitted into Scotland; and
 " that Malcolm should do homage to William for
 " part of his dominions;" for all Scotland, according to some historians.

Soon after peace was proclaimed with England, a formidable band of robbers infested the counties of Lothian and Merse, but were at last with difficulty extirpated. Malcolm now enjoying perfect tranquillity, began a reformation in his court, which was rather dissolute; in this he was assisted by his queen, a woman of great piety, virtue, and accomplishments.

Malcolm was the first who introduced English customs, manners, language, and titles, into Scotland. He created Macduff, earl of Fife, the first who received that dignity; he also created barons, and gave those nobles, who served him in person or in the state, their respective titles: for before his time, there were no other than knight

knight and thane. Walter, who, according to report, was Banquo's grandson, and had subdued the rebels in Lothian and Merse, he created his high steward. And as surnames began now to take place from the offices or lands which a man enjoyed, Stewart became the name of his family, which many of the kings of England and Scotland afterwards bore.

William Rufus about this time succeeded his father the Conqueror. Growing jealous of Edgar, to whom his father, on the peace with Scotland, had granted estates in Normandy, he began to distress him; and as Malcolm took part with his brother, it occasioned a war. Malcolm entered England, and having made a considerable booty, retired. Rufus, to repair his loss, determined to invade Scotland; and though he actually landed forces there, yet before any battle ensued, Malcolm and he came to an accommodation: "Edgar was to enjoy his estates; and Malcolm, "on receiving yearly twelve gold marks, agreed to "pay homage to Rufus for certain lands he held in "England." This treaty being often disregarded by Rufus, Malcolm went in person to him at Gloucester, in order to settle it firmly. Rufus is here said to have refused seeing him, and to have demanded such extraordinary homage, that Malcolm, enraged at the insult, levied forces, and besieged the castle of Northumberland; in a sally from which, on the 6th of June 1093, both he and his son were slain; the former, according to Scots historians, by Mowbray, the governor of the castle, with a spear, on which, in token of submission, he tendered the keys; the latter in revenging the murder of his father.—Writers are universally agreed, that Malcolm,

colm, who reigned thirty-six years, was a prince of great abilities; and though his temper was natural ferocious, it was greatly softened by the engaging one of his wife Margaret, who survived him but a few days. He had issue six sons and two daughters; Edward just mentioned, Edmund and Ethelred, who died in England, Edgar, Alexander, and David, who succeeded to the crown; Matilda, or Maud, afterwards queen of England, and Mary, countess of Bononia.

DONALDBANE VII. the Eighty-seventh King.

Notwithstanding the great pains Malcolm had taken to settle the lineal succession, Donaldbane, who during the reign of his brother had kept himself in the isles, made his appearance after his death, at the head of a strong party, in favour of the old collateral succession. The late king, by his strong attachment to his brother-in-law Edgar Atheling, and by settling estates on the exiles, who followed his fortune, had greatly disobliterated his nobility. These, and other unpopular circumstances, joined to the minority of his surviving sons, made it no very difficult matter for Donaldbane to oppose a law, not much revered for its antiquity: so that it is very probable he came to the crown without the aid of Magnus, the barefoot king of Norway; though some have asserted that Magnus received the principality of the isles for his assistance. Donald, however, was crowned at Scone; and immediately expelled the foreigners who were his brother's favourites; before which, Edgar Atheling, hearing of Donald's proceedings, had his brother's children conveyed to the English court; where was
likewise

likewise one Duncan, a natural son, who had long served in Rufus's army, and was very much in favour.

DUNCAN II. the Eighty-eighth King.

Rufus encouraged Duncan to dispossess Donald; which, with the assistance of English troops, he accordingly performed. After which, in 1095, he claimed the crown himself, though the Scots thought he was acting in behalf of Malcolm's heir; but being then in no condition to refuse him, they were obliged to comply. Soon after, Malpedir, earl of Mearns, killed him, while he slept in the castle of Monteith, and then restored Donald, who had employed him.

Edgar, the son of Malcolm, being now of age, and having by his uncle's interest obtained a sufficient number of English forces, entered Scotland at the head of them. Force seemed needless; for the Scots, during the usurpations, had been so greatly harrassed, that they no sooner beheld their prince, than they flocked to his standard; and leaving Donald defenceless, he was taken and confined in prison the remainder of his days.

EDGAR, the Eighty-ninth King.

In 1098, Edgar acceded to the throne of his father: and, as his people seemed to desire peace, he therefore preserved it; for nothing more remarkable happened in his reign than the marriage of his sister Matilda to Henry I. of England.

With respect to the affairs of the church in this century, nothing material occurred, except that Malcolm Cranmore, in the beginning of his reign, founded the bishoprics of Murray and Caithness. The value of the former was, at the reformation,

reformation, in money £1649 7s. 7d. of the latter £1283 19s.; besides oatmeal, sheep, and poultry. The foundation of the cathedral at Durham is said to have been laid by the said king.

In this century, the Scots were exceedingly well received in Germany; where fifteen monasteries were founded, by a prince of that nation, who had served in the wars of Charlemagne; and all the abbots were chosen from among the Scots.

In this century, mention is also made of three persons who rendered themselves particularly famous in Scotland, by their learning and piety. Turgot, prior of Durham, and Veremudus, archdeacon of St. Andrew's, both wrote chronicles of their times, which it is supposed are lost; but the history of Marianus Scotus, which commenced from the creation, and ended at 1083 of the Christian æra, is still extant.

ALEXANDER I. the Ninetieth King.

Edgar was succeeded by Alexander I. in 1107, and rendered himself obnoxious to his nobility by the severity of his behaviour towards them, and his indulgence to the clergy. He soon afterwards applied himself almost wholly to religious matters; so that there is nothing in his reign more remarkable than the introduction of silver coin. He died on the 8th of May 1124; and, having never been married, was succeeded by his brother

DAVID, the Ninety-first King.

David, in 1124, shortly after his coronation, visited his brother-in-law, Henry; whose daughter Maud, being, by the sudden death of her brother, heiress to the crown, David promised Henry to maintain her right to it. Henry dying soon

Soon after, he had occasion to perform his engagement; for the throne was immediately usurped by Stephen, who likewise, in a very haughty manner, ordered David to do him homage, for the lands of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon. David called him an usurper; and, acquainting him with his promise to Henry, he prepared to assist Maud, who now, in 1139, had come over from Germany, with her brother the earl of Gloucester. Notwithstanding the haughty and absurd behaviour of Maud, nothing could shake the fidelity of David, who never left her till he had put Stephen in her power. He concluded an advantageous peace with Stephen, who soon after adopted Maud's son Henry (by the earl of Anjou) as his heir. Some say, Stephen intended that honour to David's son Henry, who was in great favour with him, and had resided many years in England; but that excellent prince, who was greatly beloved by the Scots, died in 1150, four years prior to the death of Stephen. David, sickening at the loss of his only son (by Matilda, niece to William the Conqueror) ended a splendid reign of twenty-nine years, at Carlisle, on the 24th of May 1153. He was a pious prince; left behind him the greatest character for valour, and it's usual concomitant, generosity; and is considered by many to have compiled that system of Scots laws called *Regium Majestatem*: but the English ascribe to their own judge Glanville the merit of that work.

MALCOLM IV. the Ninety-second King.

Malcolm, grandson of David, surnamed, from his vow of celibacy, the Maiden, succeeded to the throne in 1153. In the beginning of his reign,

reign, Somerled, thane of Argyle, an ambitious man, put himself at the head of a large army; consisting partly of his own vassals, and partly of lawless persons, drawn to his standard by the love of plunder, or excited by a consciousness of guilt, and began to ravage the country. But the celebrated Gilchrist, earl of Angus, being sent against him, gave him a total defeat, and obliged him to fly for refuge into Ireland, where he probably died. Gilchrist, after this, crushed several less rebellions; and had just restored peace in Scotland, when an extraordinary message was sent to Malcolm, from Henry II. of England: this monarch required Malcolm either to give up Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon, or prepare to defend them. Malcolm, fond of peace and retirement, made a composition, and gave up the two former counties, on condition that on doing homage he should quietly enjoy Huntingdon. His nobles, disgusted at this submission, obliged him to declare war against Henry, for recovery of Northumberland and Cumberland; but, in a peace, which he very soon concluded, he gave up all right and title to the former; and Henry ceding the latter to him as a fief of England, Malcolm then devoted himself wholly to his monks; amongst whom, in 1165, he ended his days: for he rendered his person and authority contemptible by the alienation he made of Northumberland, and that scandalous pusillanimity apparent in every part of his conduct.

WILLIAM, the Ninety-third King.

William, his brother, surnamed Lyon, succeeding him in 1165, instantly demanded the restoration of Northumberland; and at length determined

terminated to recover it by force of arms. A war commencing, he was, in the first battle (through an unskilful division of his troops) taken prisoner by a party of the enemy in Scots habits, and immediately, in a very ignominious manner, hurried away to Richmond, and afterwards conducted to Henry in France, who committed him to the castle of Falaise. Here the captive king, impatient under confinement, on the promise of his own liberty, gave up that of his country: for William was scarcely returned to his people, before Henry and his son (whom he had made co-partner in the government) ordered William with his brothers and barons to attend them at York, where the former did homage for all Scotland; and the latter swore fealty to Henry against William their king, if he should at any time refuse to acknowledge himself a vassal of England.

Henry's successor, Richard, in consideration of 10,000 marks of silver (a vast sum at that time) remitted the homage for all Scotland, and gave him possession of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancaster, as a feodary of England. William, for this favour, assisted him in a crusade, and baffled the design of his brother John, who, during Richard's absence, would have usurped the throne. Richard, in gratitude, passed a charter, which stipulated, amongst other things, "That whenever the king of Scotland entered England upon summons, he should receive from the king one hundred shillings per day for his expences: when at court, thirty in money, twelve of the king's fine loaves, as many biscuits of fine wheat, four gallons of his best and eight of his common wine, two pounds both of pepper and cinnamon, two cakes of wax about twelve pounds each, four
" wax

“ wax candles, forty long, and eighty common
 “ ones; and that on his quitting the kingdom, he
 “ should be reconducted by the bishops and sheriffs,
 “ with the same allowance of an hundred shillings
 “ per day.” This grant, dated the 12th of April
 1194, freed the Scots from a great expence, as
 well as from that disgraceful part of feudal sub-
 mission, namely, attending the court of England
 on the most trifling occasions.

Upon the death of Richard, William renewed
 his homage for his English lands to his successor
 John. He also made a faint effort to recover
 Northumberland, which Richard, notwithstanding
 his great regard, had still kept himself; but it was
 never afterwards considered as belonging to Scot-
 land.

William was at this time dissatisfied with John,
 for having built a fort at Berwick; and the latter
 not being on very good terms with his people, was
 glad of any pretext to keep his army in motion:
 he therefore quarrelled with William concerning
 this fort; and marched to the confines of Scot-
 land, where William was prepared for his recep-
 tion. Here both kings concluded a treaty without
 bloodshed: John received 11,000 marks of silver,
 demolished the fort, promising it should not be
 rebuilt, and marched his army back again. This
 action, except quelling an insurrection, which
 had been raised in Caithness by one Godred, was
 the last that William performed; who, continu-
 ing a faithful ally to John, died, after a few years of
 uninterrupted but shameful tranquillity, in the 74th
 year of his age. Throughout his very long reign
 of forty-nine years, he appears to have been weak
 and irresolute: the brightest side of his character
 was, the sacrificing his own honour and grandeur

to his people's ease and happiness. By his wife Ermengarda he had a son, Alexander, who succeeded him, and two daughters; Margery, who was married to the famous Hubert de Burgh; and Isabel (whom Henry III. would have married, had his peers been willing) to the earl marshal of England.

In respect to the state of ecclesiastical affairs during this century, it appears that Alexander I. founded the abbies of Scone and St. Columba, and was a great benefactor to the see of St. Andrews. His successor David, besides founding the abbies of Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, Newbottle, Holyroodhouse, and Kinloss, erected the bishoprics of Ross, Dunkeld, Brechin, and Dunblain. In 1175, it was proposed to the Scots to elect the archbishop of York for their metropolis, which was prevented from taking place, chiefly through the spirited behaviour of a young canon, named Gilbert; for which service he was afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Caithness. King William was also a great friend to the clergy; among other benefactions, he founded the abbey of Aberbrothwick, to the memory of Thomas-à-Becket; and afterwards erected another at Lindores.

ALEXANDER II. the Ninety-fourth King,

Came to the crown in 1214. when he was but sixteen years of age; but behaved with such sense and spirit, that many English barons put themselves under his protection, against the tyranny of John; who was so exasperated at this behaviour, that he invaded and ravaged many parts of Scotland. The young king now met John near the river Esk, when the latter retreated, and set fire to several towns as he quitted them.

Alexander

Alexander not being able to overtake him, returned from Richmond through Westmoreland.

The English, unable to bear the tyranny of John, had invited over Lewis, son to the king of France. Lewis accordingly came over, and on his arrival in London, the barons and citizens took the oath of allegiance to him. This prince, though never crowned, acted as sovereign of England; and Alexander did homage to him for the lands he held of that crown. Alexander most heartily espoused the cause of Lewis, and therefore made head against John, who was ravaging Carlisle and Northumberland: he dispossessed him of these places in right of Lewis, whose affairs, however, very soon declining, owing to the pope's sentence of excommunication against his adherents, Alexander withdrew his assistance. Lewis was soon obliged to quit the kingdom, on Henry III. John's son, being crowned king, between whom and Alexander there seems to have been perfect peace, which was established by the marriage of Henry's eldest sister Joan, in 1221, to the Scots monarch.

By this time one Gillespy, at the head of a number of lawless free-booters, committed most dreadful ravages in Murray and places adjacent: he consumed the town of Inverness to ashes, and slaughtered the inhabitants with great cruelty: he was at last subdued, and himself and two of his sons beheaded. Another insurrection was soon after raised by the bastard son of the laird of Galloway, who had left his lands to his three daughters. When Alexander prepared to chastise him, being almost deserted by his followers, he threw himself at his feet, and the king, after having righted his sisters, generously pardoned him.

In

In 1235, Scotland being at rest after those intestine disturbances which are often most fatal to a kingdom, Alexander and his queen paid a visit to their brother Henry, on account, as some say, of the disgrace of Hubert de Burgh, who was likewise his brother-in-law. During his stay at court, a dispute happened concerning the right to Northumberland, so often disputed by former kings. It was at last settled that Henry should allow yearly, eighty marks in lieu of it. On Alexander's return to his own court, having lost his wife whilst in England, and having had no issue by her, he married the daughter of Eugelram de Cussey, a powerful French nobleman; and in 1241, it was agreed that Alexander's infant son should marry the daughter of Henry. Scotland being again at peace, a party of volunteers went to the assistance of Lewis of France, who was engaged in a crusade against the Infidels, from which scarcely one of them returned. Soon after this, Alexander formed a design of subduing the Ebrides; but in the midst of his preparations was seized with a fever, and died much lamented in the 51st year of his age, and 35th of his glorious reign. He was certainly a spirited and wealthy prince; was the first who bore the lion for his arms; and he appears by his justice, piety, address, and good-nature, to have been greatly beloved by the English, as well as by his own subjects.

ALEXANDER III. the Ninety-fifth King.

Alexander II. left no issue, except his son Alexander III. who succeeded him in the 9th year of his age, and was crowned at Scone on the 15th of August 1249, in great pomp. In the first year of

of this king's reign, the factious and powerful family of Cumins created much uneasiness throughout the realm, carrying a high hand over the rest of the nobility and gentry. To check their proceedings, it was deemed necessary to hasten the king's marriage; he therefore, in 1252, set out for that purpose; and the nuptials were solemnized on Christmas-day, in the presence of the king, queen, nobility, and clergy. Henry would now fain have received homage for all the Scots dominions; but the young king replied to Henry's demands, that marriage was the only business which he then came to execute, nor could he transact any other without the concurrence of his nobility. Henry on this answer, declared he had no thoughts to sap the independency of Scotland; Alexander chose him for his guardian, and then returned to his kingdom. The clan of the Cumins asserting that Alexander, by making himself the ward of Henry, endangered the liberties of his country, confined the young couple in Edinburgh castle; and, besides other cruel treatment, debarred them from each other's embraces. The queen, however, had the address to acquaint her father of these proceedings, who immediately came into Scotland, and, using great circumspection and judgment, restored them to their dignity: their jailers submitting to be fined for their behaviour. Henry returned to England, leaving the Scots satisfied, and Alexander now at age to manage his subjects himself; and he soon gained, by his justice and moderation, the entire confidence of his people: but a storm was now gathering, by which the liberty of the whole kingdom was endangered.

Donaldbane,

Donaldbane, Malcolm Canmore's brother, on the usurpation of Macbeth, had taken refuge in the Ebrides or Western Isles, which were then, and had ever since been, in the possession of the king of Norway. Alexander II. intended, as we observed before, had he lived, to have annexed these Ebrides to his dominions. The recollection of this circumstance, and the tender age of his successor, seems to have suggested to Haco, king of Norway, a design to invade Scotland: as a pretext, he told Alexander, that Donaldbane had promised his predecessor Magnus, as a gratification for his protection and services, that Bute and Arran should be considered as part of the Ebrides. Haco therefore desired they might be immediately given to him; but on a refusal, he came over, on the 1st of August 1263, with a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail of ships. Alexander, in the greatest consternation at this unexpected attack, sent remonstrances to Haco, who, having landed his troops, subdued Arran and Bute, and taken the town of Air, would listen to no offers of peace. Alexander, in the mean time, having raised a small army, met the Norwegians at a place called Largs. In the battle which ensued, the lines of the invaders were broken, and a most horrible carnage followed: 20,000 of the enemy are reported to have been slain on the spot; such of them as escaped to their ships were wrecked the day following; and Haco, who in a little vessel had reached the Orkneys, died there of grief at his disappointment. Magnus, Haco's son, finding that, in consequence of this defeat, many of the isles had surrendered to Alexander, sent over offers of a treaty. It was soon after

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agreed,

agreed, that all the Ebrides, and the Isle of Man, should be, in future, the sole right of the kings of Scotland; and that their respective inhabitants should enjoy their privileges, as when subjects to Norway, any of whom should, if they thought fit, be at liberty to depart with their effects, unmolested. Alexander, in consideration of these islands, agreed to pay Magnus annually one hundred silver marks, and, according to some, gave him one thousand in hand. To conciliate the parties, a marriage was afterwards concluded between Margaret, Alexander's daughter, and Eric, son and heir to Magnus, which took place by proxy at Roxburgh, on the 15th of July 1281. Thus, happily for Scotland terminated an invasion, which at first seemed to forebode very fatal consequences.

The tranquillity of the realm being thus secured, Alexander with his queen paid a visit to his father Henry; and at his court, at Woodstock, Margaret was delivered of a son. Alexander, during his stay with Henry, constantly received his five pounds per day, and considered it, not as his father's bounty, but as his own right. On his return to Scotland, he assisted king Henry with 5000 men against his rebellious barons. He likewise, in 1270, out of affection to Lewis of France, augmented the Scots guard about his person, from twenty men, which had continued a custom from the year 883, to one hundred: so that it was said, the Scots were faithful to a proverb: the name of this guard is not entirely abolished in France. Two years after this died Alexander's friend and father Henry, to whose successor Edward, Alexander proved a good ally. In 1278, he attended at Westminster,

ster, as the first peer of England, and was thanked by Edward for his great services. And in swearing fealty to him for the lands which he held in England, Alexander, having before taken notice of an ambiguous expression, which the bishop of Norwich had suggested to Edward, declared aloud, "None but God hath right to the homage of my kingdom."

The queen and children of Alexander being dead, he was advised, in order to prevent disputes concerning the succession, to marry again, and therefore espoused Jolet, the daughter of the earl of Dreux; but before she brought any issue, as he was hunting in the county of Fife, his horse took fright, rushed down a precipice, called the Black Rock, and killed him on the spot. This melancholy fate befel him on the 19th of March 1285, in the 45th year of his age, and the 37th of his reign, after having left many proofs of his great wisdom, valour, and justice.

This excellent prince limited the equipages of his nobility, and gained Scotland the first name of a trading country. His subjects, who were said to be now more civilized than either the English or French, from personal affection, and the bad consequences they foresaw would arise by this chasm in the succession, lamented his untimely death, which is indeed a fatal æra in the Scots annals: for Edward of England seems, even in the life-time of Alexander, to have formed designs prejudicial to the liberties of Scotland. His natural cunning prevented him, however, from giving much cause of suspicion. During the disputes which succeeded, he imagined, that her independency might the more easily fall a prey; and the hot-headed chiefs, who, in a few years, were scrambling for the

crown, gave Edward, perhaps, a better opportunity to carry his point than his most sanguine expectations could suggest.

The disputes concerning the succession have been considered, by some Scots historians, as beginning immediately on Alexander's death; but it seems to be pretty certain that Margaret, the young princess of Norway, who was Alexander's grand-daughter, was, in 1285, universally deemed his successor, though a mere infant. Six agents were chosen to act during her minority, all Scotsmen, at which Edward was exceedingly mortified; as he expected, being grand-uncle to the queen, to have been made her guardian. However, finding the Scots extremely jealous of their independency, and as he was bent on having power over them, he secretly concluded with Eric, the father of Margaret, a treaty of marriage between her and his son the prince of Wales, though they were both very young at this time.

It might probably have been happy, had the first scheme for uniting the two kingdoms taken place; for the states of Scotland hearing of the treaty of marriage, agreed to it (though under articles highly to the honour of that kingdom) and the young queen was sent for over. The regents and principal nobility went to the Orkneys, in order to receive and conduct her to the throne. This was in the year 1290.

Margaret, who was of a very delicate constitution, and then but seven years old, not being able to bear the fatigue of a tempestuous voyage, died in her passage. This circumstance, which filled the Scots with grief, was highly agreeable to Edward. That monarch, who, in the intended marriage,

marriage, seemed to have had the probability of her early death in view, now took his measures accordingly. His conduct, as will hereafter appear, gave birth to such fierce wars between the two kingdoms, as had nearly proved the destruction of both of them. The first interregnum, in 1291, now began.

Advice was no sooner brought to Edward, of the young queen's death, and that, in consequence, there were many competitors for the vacant throne, than he prepared for a journey into Scotland, in order to prove, as he said, that that kingdom was a fief of his own. But before he could set out, the debates in the Scots parliament concerning the right to succession, from the importance of the subject and the intricacy of titles, ran so high, that archbishop Fraser, to prevent the sword, as usual, from being finally appealed to, made a motion to the nobility, that the king of England should be chosen arbitrator. This being agreed to, on the 10th of May, Edward convened them in the parish church; and by the mouth of his justiciary Roger de Brabançon, declared, that as he did not doubt that they had desired him for their arbiter under a sense of his being the *lord of their kingdom*, he required them, by way of form, to acknowledge him as such, before he proceeded to the cognizance of their affairs. The Scots, astonished at this extraordinary demand, replied, that they had never thought of such a concession; and Edward, after expressing a feigned surprise at their demur, and vowing that he was determined to maintain his right, granted them three weeks consideration. During this interval, Edward was tampering with the candidates; and, to heighten his own importance, encouraged more to offer themselves: so

that before the three weeks were expired, they amounted to twelve. As these were the most powerful families in Scotland, and as it were dependent on his will, he rightly imagined they would not thwart his design. When the states met him in June, he ordered his chancellor to read over what he called undeniable proofs of his right to the sovereignty of Scotland: these were in fact mere Monkish forgeries; however, as soon as the chancellor had ended, he, without waiting for the Scots reply, addressed himself to the competitors, and first asked Robert de Bruce, whether he would have justice done him from the king of England, as liege lord of Scotland? Bruce answered in the affirmative, and the rest followed his example; after which Edward himself declared, that notwithstanding his office of arbitrator, he reserved the liberty of making and prosecuting, as he pleased, his own claim.

These acknowledgments were, no doubt, very disagreeable to the bulk of the Scots; yet, either intimidated by his threats, or cajoled by his promises, all who were present swore implicit fealty to him; insisting however, that the dispute relative to the succession should be terminated in their own kingdom; to which Edward agreed, though he at the same time told them they must not consider it as a precedent. Berwick was then appointed the place of decision; and on the 2d day of August the competitors were to urge their claims. Mean time, as Edward said, that as in quality of umpire he ought to have the power of executing his sentence, he desired that the kingdom might be made over to him, that he might dispose of it in future to the person to whom it appeared to appertain.

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The barons certainly attended to this demand, in whatever view they might consider it; for Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, was the only man who refused to give up the forts in his possession, till he was over-ruled by the impatient ambition of the competitors. These on the day appointed made their appearance; but the claims of ten being found defective, the contest lay wholly betwixt Bruce and Baliol. Bruce was the son of Isabel, second daughter to David, earl of Huntington, who was third son of king David the 1st; and Baliol was the grandson of Margaret the eldest daughter. The former added, in support of his claims, that Alexander III. had declared, that he should succeed him, which he offered to prove from several who had heard the promise. Edward dismissed the competitors till the 2d of June following; when, after having taken the best advice, and maturely considered the subject, he told them the succession should be finally settled on that day. Against this day forty council were retained by Bruce, the same number by Baliol, and twenty-four by king Edward, to establish his demands.

The cause coming now to a hearing, Baliol, as being the grandson of an eldest daughter, insisted, by the laws of nations, he had a juster right than Bruce, who was the son of a second daughter; and all the other claimants being nonsuited, Edward, reserving the prosecution of his own right to be tried by him or his successors whenever they thought fit, declared

JOHN BALIOL, the Ninety-sixth King.

He accordingly swore fealty to Edward, and was accepted by the Scots as king. His homage being

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attested.

attested by sixteen bishops, and the principal nobility of both kingdoms, Edward returned home exulting, and Baliol went back to his dominions covered with shame.

Scarcely a week had passed before the king of England had an opportunity to assert his supremacy: for the new king had a summons sent him to appear in person at Westminster, at the instance of Macduff, earl of Fife; whose estate having been sequestered by the former regency, Baliol refused to resign. John appearing at Westminster, in consequence of Edward's summons, and having taken his seat in parliament as first peer of England, expostulated with Edward concerning the rectitude of his proceedings, in citing him to appear in England to answer to matters which only concerned Scotland; and Baliol appealed to his promises. Edward insisted on his right to judge of the affairs of Scotland; adding, with a gust of passion, that their king should appear before him as often as he saw fit. The plaintiffs preferred their causes; and Baliol, as defendant, would have answered by proxy, but this indulgence was denied him; and the vassal king was obliged to appear at the bar as a private person. Baliol declared that he must consult his subjects, before he would answer to the earl of Fife's charge. This behaviour was judged a contempt of the court: and Edward declaring he would seize Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, till Baliol should come to a sense of his duty; that weak king, who had only made a flash of resolution, immediately acknowledged Edward's sovereignty, and most humbly begged his leave to consult the Scots parliament. This request, at Macduff's instance, was granted; and Baliol, after having
promised

promised to appear on a day appointed, was permitted to retire. Greatly chagrined at this mortifying treatment, he returned to his people, who, though they despised his person, gave ear to a proposal which he made, of resigning his power to twelve of them, who should consult together on means for shaking off their slavish dependence. They considered Edward's rupture with France as a very favourable juncture. The twelve regents therefore renewed the ancient league offensive and defensive with that kingdom, and concluded a treaty of alliance between Baliol's son, Edward, and king Philip's niece. These negotiations were not, however, carried on so privately, but Edward gained intelligence of them; which, at so critical a time, greatly displeased him. But to be certain as to the truth of Baliol's transactions, or rather of those of his regents, he ordered him to appear. He was answered by the Scots, that the pope having absolved their king from his allegiance and fealty, he was no longer to expect his homage. This message was delivered to him by the bold abbot of Aberbrothwick. On which Edward exclaimed, "How foolishly does this stupid son of mine behave! well, if he will not come to us, we will go to him;" and sending his nephew against the French, he prepared to be as good as his word. Before he proceeded to hostilities, in 1296, he made an offer of the crown to Robert Bruce, the son of Baliol's rival, and the father of his heroic successor. This offer, Bruce, who was much in favour with Edward, thankfully accepted; and in consequence of it, gained over a strong party to the interest of Edward, who, having thus gotten what he aimed at in the proposal, began his march. He advanced

before Berwick with an army of 40,000 men; but was received so warmly, that, to execute his purpose, and save the time and expence of a regular siege, he had recourse to stratagem. He made a shew of raising the siege, and a strong party of his troops, habited like Scotsmen, approached their walls. The garrison had received advice that Baliol was marching to their assistance; and imagining this body of troops to be a detachment from that army, they opened their gates to receive them. The credulous Scots found their mistake too late; for the English being in possession of their gates, now poured in upon them, and massacred, without respect to person, age, or sex, 7000; some say, double that number was slaughtered: Edward then drew a deep ditch round the town, which became part of England from that time.

The siege of Dunbar was the next object: he therefore marched forward for that purpose; but Baliol, at the head of a large army, impeded his design. Edward beheld his approach with pleasure. He imagined, that to defeat this army, would be, in effect, to conquer all Scotland, which was the great object of his ruinous ambition. With the most passionate desire, therefore, he hastened to conquest, and succeeded; for the Scots were routed, with the loss of 10,000 men. Dunbar, Jedburgh, and Roxburgh, immediately surrendered; as did also Edinburgh, on Edward's approach with a reinforcement of 40,000 men from Wales and Ireland. Being now almost totally master of Scotland, Baliol was so surprised, that he sent agents with offers of any, the most abject, submission to obtain Edward's forgiveness. Accordingly, in the presence of many nobility and

and clergy of both kingdoms, he was ushered into a church-yard at Montrose, mounted upon the most scurvý horse that could be procured, and by way of spear, he was equipped with a white wand: thus accoutred, he appeared before king Edward, who received him with ineffable contempt. In the most doleful strains the pageant monarch then stript himself of his crown and kingdom, abjured the league with France, and confessing the utmost sorrow that he had ever offended his liege lord, most humbly implored his clemency. After this ceremony had been performed in several other places, the insensible Baliol was sent under a guard to England, and there confined. The nobility (except William Douglass, who would not acknowledge Edward, and on that account died in jail) now renewing their fealty, Bruce put Edward in mind of his promise; but the king sternly replying, "Have we nothing to do but to win kingdoms for thee?" Bruce, who knew the king's temper too well to contend, retired to his estate. Edward had now completed his design; and having instituted Warren, earl of Surrey and Suffex, his lieutenant in the kingdom; Hugh de Cressingham, his treasurer; and William Ormesby, his justiciary, returned joyfully to England; taking along with him the crown and regalia, and a marble chair, in which the kings were always crowned at Scone, and which the common people among the Scots believed to have been Jacob's pillow at Padan-Aram, and the palladium of their liberty. His cunning thus took advantage of their credulity; for the taking of this stone, which is still in Westminster-abbey, greatly resigned them to what they thought their fate; and he took care, besides, to destroy, with the most barbarous

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policy,

policy, every valuable record in the kingdom, in which the history and antiquities of Scotland had been carefully preserved till that period. These transactions made way for the second inter-regnum.

The regents appointed by Edward acted with such prudence, that liberty seemed just taking her last farewell of a people to whom she had formerly been so dear; when Sir William Wallace, a patriotic hero, equal to any that antiquity can produce, stood forth, and revived, by his bold example, the drooping spirits of his countrymen. His resolution of losing the last drop of his blood in defence of Scotland's independency (connected with some exploits, which he, who was a man of gigantic stature and amazing strength, had almost singly performed) was not long made public, before he was joined by Malcolm earl of Lenox, lord William Douglass governor of Berwick, Sir John Graham, Sir Neil Campbell, Sir Christopher Seton, Sir John Ramsay, Sir Fergus Barclay, Andrew Murray, Adam Gordon, and many others, with their friends and dependents. This brave compact, under the command of Wallace, soon began to distinguish itself. The king's regents were routed; Ormesby, who had ruled with the greatest severity, narrowly escaped with his life. The castles of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, were recovered; and Wallace, at the head of his forces, entered Aberdeen just as the English had set it on fire. The fame of his exploits had now reached Edward in France, where, not expecting this event, he had carried his whole force. He ordered his lieutenant Warren, but his being infirm, he deputed the young lord Piercy, to march against these sworn foes to slavery.

slavery. Wallace's army was now, in 1297, encamped at Stirling, considerably augmented, and increasing daily. To attack it, the English were obliged to cross the Forth, by a wooden bridge, which, when half the army had passed, gave way; some say, as Wallace had contrived, but rather being naturally unable to sustain so great a weight. Wallace fell upon such as had passed the bridge, and those who escaped the sword, were drowned in the river, while the party on the other side were almost totally destroyed by the earl of Lenox. This memorable defeat was on the 15th of September; after which, the Scots forces, by plundering the English, dissipated their fears of a famine, that, by a neglect of agriculture, seemed to be hastily approaching. The states of Scotland, for his great services, had now chosen Wallace their protector; while Edward hastily returned from France to subdue the Scots. He had still but too powerful a party in Scotland: for Bruce considered Wallace as an ambitious upstart; and he became the protector's mortal enemy.

Bruce had hitherto remained neuter; but being obliged, on Edward's arrival in England, to declare either for him or his country, he made choice of the former, and gained over the inhabitants of Galloway: so that when the king, with a great army, approached the borders of Scotland, he received a considerable reinforcement from this nobleman. In the mean time, Wallace, with about 30,000 men, was encamped near Falkirk, in an excellent disposition. Some disaffected troops in his army beginning now to dispute about the post of honour, Edward took notice of it, and began his attack: the charge was re-echoed by the Scots with such an uncommon

mon noise, that the king's horse taking fright, threw him, and broke two of his ribs. Edward, regardless of his pain, charged in person with the utmost fury; and Wallace, who had animated his troops only with these words, "Behold Edward, and fly if you can," sustained the shock without disorder. He was then ready for a general charge in his turn, when Cumin, who had been refused the post of honour, fled off with his division without assailing the enemy: thus Stuart and his brave troops were entirely exposed and cut to pieces. Bruce and his party now wheeling round a hill with an intention to surround the few troops which remained, Wallace had just time to retreat beyond the river Caron. In this battle, fought on the 22d of July 1298, there fell upwards of 10,000 Scots, and scarcely 100 English; and it is imagined that this great slaughter, and perhaps the defeat, was as much owing to the treachery of Cumin, whose desertion put Wallace's whole army into disorder, as to the superior number and skill of Edward's forces. Bruce, who was ordered to pursue, finding, on his coming to the river Caron, that Wallace had passed it, agreed to a parly. Bruce taxed the protector with temerity and ambition, in taking arms against such a king as Edward was, to become himself the monarch of Scotland. Wallace warmly disclaimed any thoughts as to the crown, replying with a patriotic indignation, "To you the miseries of your country are owing; *You* left her overwhelmed with wars, and *I* undertook the cause which you betrayed; a cause which I will espouse as long as I breathe." It is said, that these words had so great an effect on Bruce, that, stung with remorse,

morfe, he retired to his estate, where he soon after ended his days.

In the midst of his victories, Edward was obliged to return to England for provision; and, in his march back, Wallace kept continually galling his rear. Wallace retired to the woods, where, with a few friends, he harraffed the English detachments and convoys, till the year 1303; notwithstanding Cumin had, by the interposition of the pope and the king of France, obtained a truce; which expiring in July, and the Scots refusing to submit to Edward, he sent a large army among them, with orders, as the Scots writers affirm, to lay waste the country. This army, which had separated itself into three divisions, proceeded so incautiously, that one party was surpris'd at Roslin by 10,000 Scots, headed by Cumin and Frazer, and defeated. The second division hearing of this disaster, coming up soon after, shared the same fate; and the third now appearing, the Scots, almost fainting with fatigue, not only stood the shock of it, but after an obstinate struggle, gained the victory. Scots writers are greatly elevated on this occasion, representing each division of the English as superior in number to all the Scots army; but this circumstance is denied by some English historians, and the triple conquest placed in a very different light. Edward, some say, on this ever memorable defeat, levied a greater army than ever, and, entering Scotland, spread desolation far and wide; so that the Scots, having been denied assistance from their faithless ally the French, were forced to sue for peace, which Edward, not willing to drive the Scots to desperation, granted them; and a treaty was concluded at Stratford,
on

on the 9th of February 1304, and was the only instance of Edward's clemency to the Scots. Upon their submission, he only imposed small fines on the nobility; and on the 15th of October, in the following year, he granted a pardon, from which only Wallace, that enemy to slavery, had the distinguished honour of being excluded. The gallant leader being thus exalted, was soon after betrayed at Glasgow, by his pretended friend Monteith. Edward, to his everlasting disgrace, tried and executed him as a rebel; though the hero, who never had acknowledged him for his sovereign, pleaded, with great justice and force of argument, Not guilty, to the indictment.

Religious orders in the church of Scotland increased greatly during this century: for, in 1219, the bishop of St. Andrew's introduced the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jacobines; and, in 1256, a house was allotted at Perth for the Carmelites.

The pope having convened in 1280, a council at Lyons, all the bishops of Scotland (except Dunkeld and Murray) were present at it. It was there ordered, that no fees were to be paid even to bishops or archdeacons, unless they performed their duty in person, if not lawfully prevented; pluralities were also suppressed, and the Minorites, Predicants, Carmelites, and Hermits of St. Augustine, were the only order of the Mendicants that were allowed.

In this century flourished Duns Scotus; and likewise Michael Scot, and Thomas Lermouth, commonly called Thomas the Rhymer, two reputed prophets, who are said to have foretold the

the union with England, among other surprising things.

The English yoke was very impatiently borne by the Scots; during the interregnum, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, soon perceived this. His father, whom Wallace had slung with remorse, it is generally thought, had, in his retirement, enjoined this son of his to strive for the Scots crown, when he saw an opportunity. He had in confidence communicated his design of being king of Scotland to Cumin, who being a powerful nobleman, it was necessary he should be in his interest. Cumin, who appears to have had similar views, betrayed his confidence. Bruce meeting him afterwards in a monastery at Dumfries, reproached him for his baseness; and high words from hence arising, Bruce, in his passion, stabbed him, on the 10th of February 1306. After this deed, which some writers have aggravated, and which cannot be justified, the voice of the people called him to the throne, as his birthright. He was accordingly crowned at Scone on the 25th of March following, in the presence of the bishops of St. Andrew and Glasgow, and many noblemen of distinction.

This news affected Edward with astonishment: he prepared immediately with all haste to crush the new king, before he could collect any considerable strength. Accordingly, he entered Scotland with a numerous army; and Robert, with a few undisciplined troops, waited to receive him at Perth. Here ensued a battle, in which Bruce was defeated, though he performed prodigies of valour. Edward then ravaged Scotland once more, and gave free scope to the violence of his temper: he murdered every male relation and friend

friend of Bruce's that he could find; among whom were three of his brothers. He put the king's sister in a wooden cage, where he kept her as a spectacle; in short, every day gave fresh instances of the inveterate hatred he bore them.

Robert having, in the mean time, eluded Edward's search, by flying to the Orkneys, was concluded to be dead; and the king of England leaving the earl of Pembroke in his stead, returned to quiet his domestic affairs. Upon his departure, Bruce, having given his friends intimation of his retreat, very soon collected 1000 men, and in the depth of winter attacked and routed the English forces. His troops every day increasing, Edward now collected all the force in his power, and determined, as he declared, to destroy Scotland from sea to sea. But death frustrated this horrid design; for arriving at Carlisle, he was seized with a flux, which carried him off, at Burgh on the Sands, on the 7th of July 1307, in the 68th year of his age; having, as it is reported, ordered his son to continue the march, and carry his corpse before the Scots, as a terror to them.

Edward II. did not so much meditate the conquest of Scotland, as the restoring his great favourite Gaveston, who had been banished by his father, and whom he now hastened to recal. He left, however, some forces behind him, under the command of John, earl of Richmond, which Bruce defeated, and afterwards reduced many small forts belonging to the English, with whom, after this, he concluded a treaty, that he might gather sufficient force to reduce the strong castles of Edinburgh, Perth, Sterling, and Berwick, which since Edward's first conquest of Scotland, had.

had been in their possession. In 1312, having, as he imagined, effected his purpose, he besieged Berwick; but a famine obliged him to raise the siege, and make excursions into England for provision. On his return, he surprised and took the castles of Roxburgh and Perth, and laying close siege to Edinburgh, he became master of it with much difficulty. He gained great reputation by these exploits, added to the reduction of the Isle of Man, which he compassed, to secure a communication with Ireland.

Edward, hearing of these conquests, and recollecting his father's last words, "reduce the Scots" assembled an army (which according to the best accounts consisted of 100,000 men) and marched into Scotland. Robert, with 30,000 choice troops, lay encamped at Bannocburn, a place, which by nature, hindered his troops from being surrounded or attacked in flank. On the 25th of June 1314, Edward's army began the attack; but, under an assurance of victory, in so irregular a manner, that Robert's veterans, whom he had learned to fight with broad sword and target, disordered, cut them in pieces, and, in short, obtained as complete a victory as any recorded in history. Robert with one stroke killed Sir Richard Bohun, reckoned the strongest knight in England, and had very nigh taken king Edward, who escaped by the goodness of his horse. In consequence of this signal victory, the Scots gained a prodigious booty. There were found in the English camp waggon loads of chains and fetters, which Edward had prepared for the Scots. The prisoners, doubtless, expected that these would now be their portion: on the contrary, he behaved with the greatest lenity; and exchanged the nobility amongst them
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for his wife and sister, whom Edward I. had carried to London. Sterling, Dunbar, and Berwick, now surrendered to Bruce, who now became in reality king of Scotland.

ROBERT BRUCE, the Ninety-seventh King.

Edward, the brother of Bruce, had escaped the rage of Edward I. and his genius also prompted him to aspire to a kingdom. Understanding therefore that the Irish, being sorely oppressed by their English governors, were ripe for a revolt, he borrowed forces of Robert, and, landing at Carrickfergus with about 7,000 men, destroyed Dundalk, and drove the English out of Ulster. Most of the Irish, who considered themselves as relative Scots, now declaring in his favour, he was crowned king; while Robert kept dallying Edward of England till 1317, with offers of peace. Edward Bruce was then hard pressed by the English, and Robert went over to his assistance; having been of great service to his brother (who, the year after however, was surprised and slain) he retired to his own dominions, on receiving intimation that Edward of England had thoughts of invading them. That monarch would have been glad to have exchanged Ireland for Scotland; of which, in the king's absence, he had endeavoured to become master. He had besieged Berwick; which Robert immediately, on his arrival, marched to relieve, and driving the English before him, ravaged York. This conduct so enraged the archbishop of that city, that he raised an army of 10,000 men, and commanded it himself; but the insatuated prelate was defeated at Mitton, on the 21st of September 1319. This was called the White Battle,
from

from the number of priests and monks who fought in their surplices, and were slain or drowned.

Robert, after this victory, concluded a truce with England, and, till 1322, cultivated the arts of peace. But Edward in the mean time raised a large army, broke the truce, and, in July, invaded the kingdom. He penetrated as far as Edinburgh, where his vast army was again defeated, and himself pursued to York. Robert, in his return, burnt the Town of Rippon, and fined Beverly in a considerable sum. Edward now gave over all thoughts of subduing the Scots, and made peace with Robert. The affairs of commerce and intercourse were likewise regulated; and Scotland, after her fatigues, enjoyed perfect rest till the death of the English king in 1326, when war began to rage afresh.

Edward III. in 1328, by the advice of his queen, and her great favourite Mortimer, in consideration of 30,000 marks, renounced all fealty and homage from the Scots for himself and successors. This great point being gained, Robert sat down contented; but in the year following, a leprosy, with which he was afflicted, increased so fast, as to put an end to his life on the 11th of June 1329, in the 54th year of his age, and 24th of a glorious reign. He had ordered before his death, according to the custom of the times, that his heart should be carried to the Holy Land, which Sir James Douglass, faithfully performed. He had previously settled the succession on his son David, and in default of heirs male, on his grandson, the great steward of Scotland. On his death-bed, he desired that the Ebrides, or Western Isles, might never be governed by one man, lest it should excite him to rebellion; and that his countrymen

countrymen in future prefer skirmishes and sudden attacks to pitched battles, in their wars with England.

Robert was the first that introduced representatives of boroughs in parliament, and had an equal genius for the field or cabinet. He was one of the greatest princes that ever swayed the Scots sceptre, whether considered as a warrior, a monarch, or a man. He was twice married: by the earl of Mar's sister he had a daughter, who espoused Walter, high steward of the kingdom; the other, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry de Burgh, brought him a son, who now, in the ninth year of his age, succeeded him, under the guardianship of Randolph, earl of Murray.

DAVID II. the Ninety-eighth King.

The government of Randolph, which commenced in 1329, was a time of great felicity to the Scots: he proved rigidly just; for in 1332, he executed a malefactor, though the pope had pardoned him; and as the good regent died soon after this circumstance, some suspect that, for his irreverence to the pontiff, he was poisoned by an enthusiastic monk. Duncan, earl of Mar, was appointed his successor.

EDWARD BALIOL, the Ninety-ninth King.

But an unforeseen revolution very soon took place. The mock monarch Baliol, having obtained his liberty, through the intercession of the pope, died at his estate in France, in 1314, leaving behind him two sons, Edward and Henry. The former, instigated by one Twenge (a wretch whom the late regent had outlawed) to assert his claim to the Scots throne, listened to his advice; and,

disclosing

disclosing his sentiments to Edward, king of England, requested his assistance, and offered, if successful, to hold the crown of him as sovereign, in the manner of his father. Edward, though he greatly regretted that he had been induced by Mortimer to resign this supremacy over Scotland, was, however, a prince of too much justice or policy to violate openly a truce, which, notwithstanding, he heartily wished were expired. It is certain, that Baliol carried on matters so privately, that he landed at Kinghorn, with about 4,000 English and Scots volunteers, on the 1st of March 1332, without opposition. The states, being apprised of his intentions, levied a considerable force, in order to stop his progress. By the imprudence of the earl of Mar, and the valour of Baliol's troops, this army was defeated at Dupplin, the regent and many of the principal nobility being slain.

Perth soon after surrendered to the conqueror, who, proceeding to Scone, assumed the crown. In consequence of which, he declared, that he would consider every one as a traitor, that should refuse to swear fealty to him. On this declaration, he was joined by many men of power, and his party now grew very strong. The few, who still continued faithful to David, appointed Sir Alexander Murray his regent; who being soon after taken prisoner by Baliol (who had routed what forces he commanded) the royal party lost ground every day. They, nevertheless, chose lord Archibald Douglass regent, who applied to king Edward in behalf of the young king. On the other hand, Baliol, who had now become, in a manner, master of Scotland, sent to him his
homage,

homage, which was as slavish as his father's had been.

As the truce between England and Scotland was now expired, Edward considered himself at liberty to pursue the bent of his inclination. The submission of Baliol was highly agreeable to him; but yet he would not seem to quarrel with the other party, without some plausible pretext. He told the regent he should not concern himself with their estates, any further than claiming the castle of Berwick for himself, whoever possessed it. That castle his grandfather had solemnly annexed to his crown; and therefore, he said, tho' recovered by Bruce, through the supineness of his father, it was nevertheless his right. King Edward soon after, with a vast force, laid siege to Berwick. After he had battered the place for more than a month, with very little success, he raised the siege in order to relieve his queen, whom the Scots, in their turn, had besieged in Bamborough castle; but they retiring at his approach, he returned to Berwick, and attacked that fort with redoubled vigour. The regent determined, at all events, to relieve this garrison; and Edward, having received news, that he was advancing with a large army, possessed himself of a very advantageous station on Halidon-Hill. The regent, unmindful of the late king's dying injunctions, was resolute to attack Edward, though thus advantageously posted. This rash boldness terminated in a total defeat of the Scots army; the regent, with most of the nobility, fell, and 15,000 common men were either killed or made captive. Berwick immediately surrendered on this memorable victory, which, as it is said, cost the English only a knight, an esquire, and fifteen soldiers.

David

David and his young queen fled to France after this defeat, which was almost the overthrow of the Brucean interest. Philip received them with a kingly hospitality, and ratified the following treaty: "I. A perpetual alliance and confederacy between both nations. II. That the Scots and French should naturally succour each other against the English, with men of war, to be waged and victualled at the expence of the party assisted. III. That neither nation should assist the English with money, victuals, or advice, without the consent of both kings, under the penalty of being declared guilty of high treason. IV. That the French should make no peace or truce with the English, except the king of Scots maybe comprised, named, and allowed therein; and that their pragmatic sanctions be reciprocally confirmed at each change or succession of them.

During these transactions, Edward Baliol had called a parliament, which met the beginning of February 1334, in the abbey-church of Holyrood-house. Here, in consideration of the good services of Edward king of England, he granted that monarch 2000*l.* sterling per annum; and further, to shew his gratitude, as he called it, he followed Edward to Newcastle, where, on the 19th of June, after having given that king sole and separate right to several towns, counties, and castles in Scotland, he paid him the most slavish homage for the remainder of his kingdom. But when the English, in consequence of this infamous cession, came to take possession of these places, the Scots began to look around them. They perceived that their king was Edward's tool, and that this step would probably lead to the enslaving the whole country.

The Scots were thus ripe for revolt, when John Randolph, earl of Murray, came over from France, with Philip's promise to restore young David; and acquainting his countrymen, that, pursuant to the treaty, ten capital ships were coming over for that purpose, the Bruceans determined to commence hostilities. Robert the high steward of Scotland, and Sir Colin Campbell, declaring for king David, surprised and took the castle of Duncan in Kyle. This little success determined numbers of the nobility to join them; and the high steward, who, though very young, was a man of great abilities, was chosen king David's regent. The French, who were never hearty friends, having in all this year sent the Scots no aid, Bruce's party, blocked up by Edward of England, who possessed Edinburgh castle, and the passes of Sterling and the Forth, was without provisions, money, and arms. But in the cause of liberty, what hardships will not a resolute people endure! they retired to their fortresses, from which they surprised the English detachments, and lived on the plunder they had taken.

In this situation the royalists remained till the spring of 1336, when Philip of France began to stir in favour of David. He found a martial disposition in the young monarch, whom he now intrusted with the command of 20 gallies, sufficiently victualled and manned, with which he made descents on Guernsey and Jersey. He was unable to land in his own dominions; but as Edward went to England, to consult his parliament about proceeding against the French, his friends were able to assemble; so that having taken Dunnoter, Kineff, and Laurister castles, and being joined by Sir Alexander Murray, who was taken prisoner in 1332, and now made joint-regent, they grew strong

strong enough, in the spring 1337, to reduce the castle of Bothwell, and were almost in a condition to engage Baliol's party. But, mindful of their late king's directions, they retired to their strong holds, and only occasionally skirmished with the English. By these means, it appears, that at the close of the year, Perth, Cowper, Sterling, and Edinburgh, were all the fortified places that were in the possession of either Baliol or his paramount. But in the beginning of the year 1338, Sir Alexander Murray, the regent, died; and Robert, the steward of Scotland, being now sole regent, prepared to enter heartily into king David's cause; and Philip of France, with whom Edward had been tampering concerning the Scots, having solemnly declared he would support them to the utmost of his power, war between these two nations was the consequence; and the latter, who meditated the conquest of France, resolved to head his army himself.

Edward in 1339 was preparing for this expedition, when Sir William Douglas went to France, to acquaint king David how matters stood in Scotland; and to represent the probability of his restoration, if the French, in consequence of their treaty, would furnish him with troops. Philip, as an earnest of his intentions to serve the Scots, immediately sent back Douglas with five ships, some troops, and plenty of provisions. With this assistance, the regent was enabled to subdue the castle of Perth, which, in the absence of Douglas, he had laid siege to. But Edward of England, very likely not thinking himself yet sufficiently able to cope with the united power of France and Scotland, concluded a truce to

Midsummer 1340, in which both nations were comprehended. No sooner was this truce expired than Douglas retook the castle of Edinburgh, by the following stratagem: Being well acquainted with its situation, he, at day-break, presented himself with about twelve of his truest friends before the castle, disguised like sailors and waggoners, with carts attending them, in which they pretended that they had brought provisions to the garrison. The porter let Douglas come into the outer court: Douglas instantly killed him, and, taking the keys of the castle from off his arm, admitted his followers; having previously concealed a large body of armed men, under the ruins of adjacent buildings, who emerged from thence at the sound of a horn; and thus he became master of the garrison, all which they put to the sword, except Leigh, the governor, and six English esquires. The next year, Douglas plied Sterling so warmly, that the garrison was glad to capitulate for life and limb, notwithstanding a reinforcement from Edward, who was indefatigable in the service of his country.

Douglas had now left the English only the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh. At the former, were the two Edwards with a considerable force; but the English army, tired out with following the Scots in their recesses, where they often fell into ambuscades, and being besides in want of provisions, concluded a truce to the end of the year 1342. The basis of it was, "That unless king David returned to his people, with a force sufficient to withstand his enemies, by June, the Scots would own Edward for their
"sovereign,

"sovereign, and would never acknowledge either
"him or his posterity."

Great lustre was reflected on the Scots by this truce, as they herein acted as a free and spirited people: they knew that David was now of age to command an army; and under the presumption that he was indulging in sloth, or, at least, that he was dilatory in urging Philip's assistance (as it never appears that the Scots had any other aid from him, than what Douglas brought over) they undoubtedly thought, and with the greatest propriety, that a king, who would make no efforts for a crown, or a people's liberties, was unworthy of government. David, on hearing of this truce, told the French monarch, he would be dallied with no longer: whereupon troops were granted him; and in May, he and his queen, accompanied by several Danish and Swedish knights as volunteers, landed at Innerberry, from whence, amidst the enthusiastic shouts of his people, he proceeded to Perth. Here having viewed his army, and the desolate state of his kingdom, he was eager to ravage England; and especially to reduce Berwick, in which castle his competitor Baliol resided as Edward's governor. His nobility, however, advised peace, and David was at last, with difficulty, brought to conclude a two-years truce with Edward, who employed this time in subduing the French; while David regulated his civil affairs, received an oath of fealty from his subjects, and constituted Robert, the great steward of Scotland, his heir, in default of issue to succeed him.

Nothing remarkable occurs till the year 1346, when David, whilst Edward was in France, prepared to invade England. He was more than

60,000 strong, and would have laid waste all the county of Cumberland, if the monks had not compounded for their possessions, by raising him 1000l. He estimated an Englishman's life at three-pence, for whoever could not pay him that sum was put to the sword. The queen of England having raised an army, headed them herself, and, on the 17th of October, opposed David near Durham. In this battle the Scots were not only totally defeated, but their king, though he performed the greatest personal exploits, was taken prisoner, by a party under one John Coupland, two of whose teeth he dashed out before he yielded to him. The brave Douglas, with the bishops of St. Andrew and Aberdeen, the earls of Monteith, Sutherland, Fife, and many more, shared their monarch's fate; and Hay lord constable, Keith lord marshal, Stragutrin lord chancellor, with other men of note, and above 20,000 common men, were slain. The English lost four knights and five esquires, but how many common soldiers is uncertain. Coupland hurried away his royal captive to Bamborough castle, which was his friend Piercy's; nor would he tell where the king was, or let him be delivered up to the queen, till he had seen Edward in France, who giving him 500l. per annum, with the honour of knighthood, ordered that he should deliver David to his valiant consort, to be lodged in the Tower, till himself arrived in England. On the 2d of January 1347, David was accordingly lodged in that fortress; but Monteith was executed as a traitor, having long before sworn fealty to Edward.

Baliol having now reduced several forts, Robert the steward, now under-regent of Scotland, proposed

proposed to stop his progress. But at this time, a most dreadful plague, brought from Asia, overran Europe: no less than twenty millions of souls are said to have fallen by this calamity, which caused a cessation of arms all over Europe till 1353. The states of Scotland, mean time, and till 1355, when the truce with England expired, had made many ineffectual negotiations concerning their king's ransom. And though they paid for his maintenance while he was in captivity, they would not procure his enlargement on terms they could not with honour comply with.

Philip's successor, John, had now sent them over supplies of money, which determined them to recommence hostilities. They stormed Berwick, which, however, in 1356, was retaken; and this year Edward Baliol resigned all his pretensions to the Scots throne, on condition of receiving, out of the customs of the towns of Hull and Boston, 2000*l.* per annum; with which he lived privately on his own estate till 1363, when he died at Doncaster.

After Edward Baliol's renunciation, in the treaty which soon took place in 1357, Edward, for the first time, called David king of Scotland; and on the third of October, in this year, David obtained his liberty on the following conditions: "I. That 100,000 marks be paid by
" 10,000 yearly, and that twenty hostages be
" given for the performance of it. II. Till this
" sum be paid, that both kingdoms preserve peace
" with each other. III. On failure of payment,
" that David again surrender himself, or the lord
" stewards, Douglas and Murray, in his room."
The clergy and nobility bound themselves, together with David, for the true performance of

these articles. But before Edward parted with David, he is said to have gratified himself with dining with his crown on his head, between David and John king of France, whom the glorious Black Prince had, the preceding year, made captive; after which David returned joyfully to his kingdom.

As the price of David's liberty was great, he applied to France for assistance; but that court pleading similar distresses (as indeed they might with great justice) his clergy are said to have assisted him greatly. In 1359, he established with England a treaty of commerce, and procured his subjects the liberty of studying at English seminaries. In 1363, Edward proposed a federal union with David; the substance of which was, That Edward would remit the remainder of the ransom; that he would resign all the places in his possession, which had been formerly conquered by Robert Bruce; that in all treaties with other powers, each king should either be styled in the plural number "the kings," or else "the king of England and Scotland;" and in short, that the king of England was willing to grant, by advice of his council, whatever the Scots could reasonably ask, if king David would constitute king Edward his heir, by way of equivalent.

After this period, the history of Scotland grows very dark; all that we know for certain is, that on David's return from a visit, which he had paid to Edward, he died without issue at Edinburgh, on the 22d of February 1370, in the 48th year of his age, and the 41st of his reign: as a monarch, he is said to be credulous, vain, and

and bigoted ; but ingenuous, sober, and affable, as a man.

ROBERT II. the Hundredth King.

The high steward, Robert (concerning whose genealogy it is sufficient to say, that he was the lineal descendant of Walter, on whom Malcolm III. as has been remarked, first bestowed the office) agreeable to the act of succession, mounted the throne in 1370 ; he was the first of the family of the Stuarts.

On his accession, a truce of fourteen years with the English taking place, and no civil transaction having been handed down, nothing material transpired till the death of king Edward III. and his valiant son in 1377. Robert afterwards surprised Berwick ; but the English soon retook it. The year following, one Mercer, an able Scots seaman, scouring the seas in a kind of piratical manner, annoyed the English considerably ; but John Philpot, a spirited alderman of London, having fitted out a little fleet, at his own expence, took the rover with fifteen rich Spanish ships, which he had under convoy. From this time, till 1384, a skirmishing war was carried on with intervening truces.

The Scots, in 1385, renewing their ancient league with the French, were assisted by that nation with 50,000*l.* and some troops, the number not known. Richard II. of England, being made acquainted with this circumstance, entered Scotland, with a pompous army, like Edward II. with an intention to subdue the people, and lay waste the country. Robert, apprised of his intentions, passed the Forth, with the most valuable of his effects ; leaving a body of troops under lord

Douglas, who should occasionally harraſs the enemy. Richard, paſſing Berwick, found the country deſolate; continuing, however, his march to Edinburgh, he levelled that city with the ground. When he had performed this martial feat, the duke of Lancaſter, adviſed him to carry his arms acroſs the Forth, and follow Robert; but the weak king, who, it ſeems, imagined that the duke had a ſiniſter deſign in this advice, declared he would not advance a ſtep further: in ſhort, he left Scotland (Douglas continually harraſſing him) without doing one ſingle action, which could compenſate for his expenſive preparations; Douglas, on the contrary, obtained a truce of two years for his countrymen.

During the laſt five years, the Iriſh having made deſcents on the weſtern parts of Scotland, Robert now determined to make reprisals. One William Douglas was ſent on this expedition: he executed his commiſſion with great ſucceſs; for after having defeated the Iriſh militia of Dundalk and Carlingford, he loaded twelve ſhips, which he found in the harbour, with booty. In his return home, he laid waſte the Iſle of Wight, and then landed his ſpoils near Loch Riar.

Elated with this ſucceſs, Robert, calling a parliament at Aberdeen in 1388, propoſed an invasion of England. The ſtates concurring, he accordingly raiſed two armies of 15,000 men each; one under the command of the earls of Fife and Monteith, William Douglas, and Alexander Lindſay; and another under the earls of Douglas, March, Crawford, and Murray. The former entered Cumberland by the Weſt Marches, and the latter ravaged Northumberland. Both armies met, according to agreement, near Newcaſtle, which

which was defended by Henry and Ralph Percy, sons to the earl of Northumberland. William Douglas having selected 2000 foot and 300 horse, determined to storm the castle next day; before which, it seems, he received a challenge from Henry Percy, surnamed, from his fierce valour, Hotspur, whom Douglas, at the first onset, dismounted and deprived of his spear and pennant, with which he had boasted he would return in triumph to Scotland. Henry, mortified at this defeat, swore Douglas should never carry a spear of his into Scotland: sallying out, therefore, in quest of Douglas, with 600 horse and 8000 infantry, he found him encamped at Otterburn. Hotspur attacked the Scots by moonlight with such resolution, that they were on the point of being routed, when the brave Douglas rushed into the middle of the English, with his battle-ax in his hand. The Scots, in admiration of their leader, and reinforced by the earl of Dunbar, returned with vigour to the charge, and obtained a complete victory; though not without the loss of their heroic commander, who, having proceeded too incautiously into the main body of the English, was surrounded and cut to pieces, together with his chaplain, who fought by his side; 200 English were left dead on the field; and Hotspur and his brother, with above 100 persons of distinction besides, were made captives.

In this celebrated battle, commonly called Chevy-Chace fight, which was fought on the 21st of July, only 100 Scots were killed, but double that number were taken prisoners. Both parties, with respect to their prisoners, behaved with the greatest generosity; being exchanged for each other, or allowed to fix their own ransom.

In consequence of this battle, a truce was agreed on, till August 1392, in which the allies of both sides were comprehended; though the Scots now very justly began to look on the French as a selfish people, not to be confided in.

Robert, king of Scotland, being grown very infirm, had for some time given the reins of government to his son, the earl of Fife, and did not survive this truce; for he died on the 19th of April 1390, in the 75th year of his age, and the 19th of his reign, at his castle of Dundonald.

This prince does not appear to have been fond of fighting; but was mild, just, and (what he is greatly to be praised for) unwilling to undertake any affair without the full concurrence of his parliament. Robert was the first who introduced the coining of gold in Scotland. He seems likewise to have been the first king who made use of any device or emblem: his coronet, over a terrestrial globe, had the following motto, *Vanitas vanitatum; et omnia vanitas!* Vanity of vanities; all is vanity!

ROBERT III. the Hundredth and First King,

Whose real name was *John*, succeeded in 1390; but the states of Scotland, who could not forget the wretched John Baliol, and who reflected with rapture on his successor, Bruce, not having yet divested themselves of their Caledonian superstition, changed it to Robert. The king having been lamed by a kick from an horse, and being likewise both sickly and of a meek disposition, after he had prolonged the truce with the English till 1398, resigned the administration of affairs almost entirely to his brother, the earl of Fife,

Fife, who had been regent in the life-time of his father.

The two powerful clans of Chattan and Kay being continually at enmity with each other during the truce, and disturbing the peace of the realm, the earl of Crawford was made the instrument of silencing their squabbles; which he brought about by this artful scheme: he proposed that thirty of each clan, champions for both tribes, should decide their respective differences by the sword; at the same time that the king, who with his nobility, were to be spectators of the combat, would pardon the offences of both, and reward the conquerors. The Highlanders readily closed with the proposal; and a day was appointed for the sixty champions to meet at the North-Inch of Perth. Both parties engaging with the most unbounded fury, the Chattans obtained a complete victory over the Kays; only one of that clan escaped the death which all the rest had met with, by swimming over the Tay, which indeed he was prudent in doing, since, besides the sadler (who engaged to supply the places of one of the Chattan clan) there was a third part of the Chattans still remaining. The reader from this resolution, may form some idea of those ancient clans.

Henry, the English monarch, who since his accession in 1400, seems to have had an eye to the independency of Scotland, countenanced the revenge of March against the duke of Albany; and, under pretence of being lord paramount of Scotland, in 1400, invaded that kingdom; as well to right the earl of March (whose estates had been seized by Douglas) as to assert his own supremacy. He entered Scotland with a vast force, having a fleet attending to supply it with provisions.

provisions. He behaved at first with lenity, in hopes to draw the Scots to his standard ; but, not succeeding to his wish, he afterwards laid siege to Edinburgh castle. Rothesay's brave defence, together with the insurrection of Owen Glendour, in Wales, obliged Henry to raise the siege, and conclude a truce with the Scots for two years.

The English were again stirred up by the earl of March, who had been dissatisfied with the truce. The Scots, apprised of his intentions, determined to be beforehand with him ; and earl Douglas met him at the head of a large body of English forces, on Homeldon-hill. Here the Scots were so galled by the English archers, that, in spite of all the efforts of Douglas, and of Sir John Swinton, who, with a chosen party, charged the enemy sword in hand, they were totally defeated ; Douglas himself, who received five wounds, and lost an eye, was taken prisoner, with several other persons of distinction.

Lord March was ordered by Henry not to dispose of his prisoners, till he saw them ; when, being made acquainted with the amazing valour of lord Douglas, he is said to have dismissed him without ransom, and the others on trifling fines. In short, the disturbances in his own kingdom now strongly inclined him to a peace with the Scots, especially as it was reported that Richard II. was still living in that kingdom. This report, though groundless, hastened the conclusion of a truce till 1405. In the mean time, king Robert became acquainted with the tragical end of his son, the duke of Rothesay, whom Robert had arrested, and confined in the castle of Falkland, where he was starved to death ; but as the regent's
power

power was above the reach of punishment, the old king could only prevent the sacrifice of his other son, by sending him into France. The vessel, in which he sailed, was met by an English privateer, off Flamborough-Head; the captain of which, as the truce was just then expired, took and carried her to London, and Henry confined the young prince and his retinue in the Tower; destroying by this action, the character for generosity which had always hitherto been bestowed on him by the Scots.

Robert was no sooner informed of his son's captivity, than (perhaps imagining it to be a scheme of Albany his brother) he was seized with such agony of grief, that he became immediately speechless, and died in three days afterwards, on the 29th of March 1405. He had been in his youth remarkably handsome; and is allowed to have possessed the virtues and abilities of a private man and a christian; but scarcely any qualification requisite to adorn a sovereign prince.

Pope Boniface had interdicted Scotland in this century, because Robert Bruce refused to make peace with the English: however, upon an humble remonstrance to his holiness, signed by the nobility and clergy, the interdiction was soon removed; after which, the only thing remarkable is, that the bishops, whose estates, at their decease, had always been at the king's disposal, now obtained the liberty of leaving their effects as they thought proper; and if they happened to die intestate, they became, like those of the laity, the property of the nearest relative.

JAMES I.

JAMES I. the Hundredth and Second King.

Young James, as soon as his father's death was known, was declared king in 1405, by an assembly of the states, which at the same time appointed, or rather continued, the duke of Albany regent, till he should be set at liberty.

The royal prisoner was treated with much respect by Henry; and the regent was so far from desiring his sovereign's enlargement, that, without any efforts for his release, he concluded a truce with England till 1409. But neither the generosity (if it may be so called) of Henry, nor the power of Albany, could prevent the Scots from murmuring; and it seems, that during the truce they committed several irregularities, which Henry had the prudence to overlook.

The truce being near expiring, they grew exceedingly clamorous; and immediately on its expiration, a party seized the castle of Jedburgh, (which the English had garrisoned since the battle of Durham) and laid it in ruins. The regent, perceiving that the people were bent on war, and concluding that it would be as unsafe as impossible for him to check them, prepared to muster an army, under the command of the earl of March, who had now forsaken the English.

The insurrection of Donald, lord of the isles (a title of very indefinite signification) who had quarrelled with the regent, concerning his right to an estate, diverted the Scotch from marching into England. Donald, receiving intimation that Henry of England would espouse his cause, seized the lands in dispute, and levied a considerable force, in order to maintain them. The
regent

regent sent Thomas, earl of Mar, against the rebel lord, who, after an obstinate struggle, was defeated at Harlaw. Donald, on this defeat, sued for pardon; and on resigning all claim to the estates in question, and again swearing fealty to the crown of Scotland, obtained it. At the close of this expedition the regent concluded a fresh truce, till 1415, with the English.

On the death of Henry IV. in 1413, the Scots had great expectations of their sovereign's enlargement; but Henry V. on the contrary, confined James pretty close at Windsor; and, without listening to any proposals of ransom, prepared to invade France. Here, whilst Henry was reaping never-fading laurels, the duke of Albany was at his wit's end to hinder the Scots from taking the advantage of his absence from England, to release their king; but the duke's ambition, and political shifts, were put an end to by his death in 1420: and it must be owned, that he left the kingdom in a very flourishing condition, notwithstanding his personal vices whilst regent.

His son Murdoch was immediately appointed his successor, who not having the ambition (or the abilities) of his father, entered heartily into his master's service. Henry V. had imagined, that while James was a prisoner in England, the Scots would not assist the French; and though this was pretty much the case, during the late regency, yet now, both out of resentment, and to preserve their faith with a people, who, notwithstanding, had always used them ungratefully, they proved an excellent ally: though the combined force of the Scots and French could not stop the victorious Henry, who, however, was
unfor-

unfortunately cut off by a fever in the midst of his conquests.

In 1422, Henry VI. his successor (or rather his counsellors) being uneasy at the strong attachment of the Scots to the interest of France, gave ear to proposals for James's liberty; and it was agreed, that he should enjoy his crown, on condition, "That the Scots withdrew their assistance from the French, and paid 40,000*l.* for the expence of his maintenance." These conditions being agreed to, the commissioners of both nations concluded a seven years truce; twelve hostages of the principal nobility were given for the performance of articles; and James, as soon as the treaty was concluded, having married Joan, the earl of Somersfet's daughter, returned in great splendour to his country, together with his consort (whose fortune struck off 10,000*l.* of the debt of England) and he was, on the first of May, crowned at Scone.

James, being determined to reform his kingdom, was too wise and too bold a prince not to begin with his nobility. He made a general law against leagues and combinations, and then called the late regent to account for his mal-administration. And though historians do not mention the particular crimes with which that nobleman and his two sons were charged, they were nevertheless all three condemned and beheaded, pursuant to a sentence in parliament. This severe act struck the rest with terror; and they promised faithfully to adhere to several wise statutes and laws which James had caused to be enacted.

In 1426, he visited the county of Inverness, the inhabitants of which were particularly barbarous; considering rapine and violence to be law,

law, and bloodshed and murder only matters of course. James, who knew that rough measures would have little effect on men accustomed to hardships and slaughter, invited the chieftains to the castle; where he made them acquainted with the nature of his laws, which he ordered not only to be observed by themselves, but by those under them; for whom, he told them, they, in a great measure, must be answerable. At the same time, in order to shew his authority, he executed three of the principal. One of these cruel free-booters was Duff, a man remarkably wanton in his barbarity: he had shod a poor woman with iron, like a horse, for repining at his cruelties; and then whipping her out of the town, bid her seek redress from the king. James hearing the story, shod Duff in like manner, and hung him in chains, after having had him flogged three times round the castle.

One of the leading men, in this barbarous county of Inverness, was Alexander, earl of Ross. Some call him lord of the isles; however, he was so powerful, that James, to keep well with him, had winked at several crimes; and by affability and acts of kindness, endeavoured to make him his friend. The earl, it seems, promised fair; but James had no sooner left Inverness, than he grew rebellious, and at the head of the clans, Hatton and Cameron, attacked the castle, which the king had garrisoned. James, shocked at his dissimulation, and enraged at his ingratitude, offered a price for his head; when Ross, not thinking himself safe, even amongst his own troops, quitted them; and skulking about from place to place, endeavoured to get to Ireland: but not being able to effect his escape,
nor

nor procure a pardon, he determined to throw himself at the king's feet, and hazard his clemency. Accordingly, as well by way of disguise, as to excite compassion, he, by some means or other, procured an old black rug, wrapped up in which, he appeared before the king and queen, at Holyrood-chapel, during the time of divine service. His wretched plight, and moving address, interesting the queen in his favour, she prevailed with the king to spare his life; and James threw him into prison till his death, to prevent his doing further mischief:

James being now the protector and encourager of learning and arts, reigned in the utmost tranquillity, and was universally beloved by his people. He had received an excellent education whilst in England, where he became personally acquainted with Gower and Chaucer; and was himself a thorough judge, and no mean composer, of poetry and music. And though the university of St. Andrew was established in the former reign, in 1411; yet squabbles between the monks, and the inattention of the regent, having stunted the growth of science, James, by taking that seminary under his patronage, may not improperly be considered as its founder. He not only rewarded industry and merit in the fine arts, but in agriculture, trade, and manufactures. By these means, his court became the receptacle of men of genius, and the whole kingdom assumed a new face; for he had introduced a better style of architecture; had regulated weights and measures, and the wages of labouring men; besides, establishing ferries and inns, for the ease and convenience of travelling: he also enacted sumptuary laws, which expressly prohibited any but his

his principal nobility from wearing gold or silver lace, or valuable furs; and in respect to diet, he encouraged that kind by which agriculture was most improved.

The king was thus busied till 1435; and the truce with England having been prolonged till that time, ambassadors now arrived from that nation with offers of perpetual peace. Lord Scroop, we are told, had orders to propose a marriage between his master, Henry VI. and the princess of Scotland. This proposal being rejected, as James before determined to bestow his daughter on the dauphin, greatly exasperated the English, who resented the affront, and proceeded immediately to hostilities.

The two nations were now in arms; the Scots under the earl of Angus, and the English under lord Northumberland. The armies encountered each other on the 10th of September 1436, at a place called Popperden; victory, after much wavering, declared for the former.

The next year, James determined to take the field in person, having meditated the sieges of Roxburgh and Berwick. He was lying before the former, at the head of a vast army, when the queen, greatly fatigued, overtook him, with the unwelcome tidings of a conspiracy being formed against his life. The horrid design received its birth from the following circumstances: The earl of March had forsworn his allegiance, and fought against his country; notwithstanding which, Robert, the regent, on the earl's repentance, had pardoned and restored him to his estates. James, who had maintained, that it was in the breast of a king only to excuse treason, having lately declared that pardon to be void,
had

had deprived the earl of his title, and affixed his lands to the crown, by an act that was highly pleasing, declaring the pardons and grants of the late regents of no effect; and though the king had not greatly enforced the act, yet having made a precedent, and continuing daily, by proposing a militia, and other politic maxims, to lessen the power of his barons, they were in continual fear of being deprived of their possessions and importance. The earl of Athol, who imagined he should be one of the first objects of the act, determined, at a proper opportunity, to destroy the king, that he and the rest might preserve their estates: such was the state of affairs on the queen's arrival; but it does not appear that she was acquainted with particulars, since the king, on her information, disbanded his army (in which whether he acted with spirit and prudence, is left to the reader) and retired to the Dominican convent near Perth, in order privately to ascertain the parties engaged in the conspiracy.

Fearing to be discovered, Athol made haste to execute his purposes; and having obtained admittance into the convent by bribery, together with Robert his grandson, and his kinsman Graham, planted themselves one night in the lobby of the king's antechamber. James was at supper with his queen, and thinking himself sufficiently secure, had retained no body-guard, so that on the outer doors being opened by Straton the cup-bearer, they were prepared to rush in. He made a stand against them, calling out *Treason! Treason!* which alarming those who were within, a young lady, the queen's attendant, ran immediately to fasten the door; but not readily

readily finding the bar, she boldly thrust her arm into the staple instead of it. In an instant, however, having dispatched Straton, her arm was broken; and the wretches, falling on the king, he expired under thirty wounds, in the 44th year of his age, and the 13th of his reign, A. D. 1437.

This excellent prince was below the middle size; but yet signalized himself by martial and robust exercises. His manners and politics were too elevated for the people whom he governed; for had his subjects been properly civilized, they must infallibly have been happy under his government, and revered him for his justice, generosity, and uncommon abilities. But a rude people, and a jealous and powerful nobility, could not brook the introduction of taxes (in order at first to pay his captive-money in England) nor his strong efforts to break the aristocratical connection. Though his maxims were in general disagreeable, his subjects seem to have been so far from desiring his death, that they made use of every method to detect and apprehend the perpetrators of it. They were all three discovered; and separately suffered death, under the most excruciating torture. Graham was so abandoned a wretch, that being asked how he could lift his hand against a king, he protested he took such delight in sin, that were the Almighty to forgive and allow him a place in heaven, he should rather wish to associate with infernal spirits.

JAMES II. the Hundredth and Third King,

Was but seven years of age when he ascended the throne in 1437. It was therefore thought necessary

necessary to appoint proper persons to conduct affairs during his minority. The earl of Douglas, the greatest nobleman in Scotland, was accordingly constituted lieutenant-general; Sir William Creighton chancellor, and Sir Alexander Levingston the keeper of the young king's person: but parliament was to have the supreme direction.

Before the late king's murder, a truce with the English, till May 1447, having been agreed on, it was now ratified by the states. But Douglas dying, matters took a different turn: for the parliament then throwing the whole power of government into the hands of the survivors, Levingston to be military, and Creighton civil governor; and refusing a share of it to the earl's son, that young nobleman, full of ambition, but void of prudence, withdrew immediately from court, and retiring amongst his vassals, refused submission to the joint-ministers. These, instead of taking measures to humble him, grew jealous of each other's power, and at last quarrelled. Creighton, who is said to have been the abler man, got possession of the king's person, whom he confined in the castle of Edinburgh. Levingston represented this outrage to the queen-mother, by whose contrivance he regained her son, packed in a clothes chest. Hereupon the two ministers were ripe for open defiance; but the earl of Douglas having, by his example, taught many others to rebel, necessity constrained them to unite.

On the 2d of August 1440, they therefore called a parliament; which voted that, on the notice of any rebellion, "slaughter, burning, robbery," the transgressors should be punished,

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and the injured redressed. This was principally intended against Douglas; who now marched about with 1000 horse in his train, and acted like an independent prince. But Creichton, afraid to use force against this nobleman, determined, as a statesman, to make use of his proper weapons, dissimulation and artifice. He sent to the earl a letter, which invited him to take the lead in all public affairs. The bait took; Creichton met him in his way up; and ushering him, his brother, and their friend Sir Malcolm Fleming, with much ceremony, into Edinburgh castle, a splendid entertainment was provided. Towards the end of the feast there was placed before them a bull's-head; which, in those times, being the signal of instant death, they sprang from the banquet, and attempted to save themselves: their efforts, however, were in vain; for being in a moment surrounded, they were tied hand and foot, dragged into a back court, and immediately beheaded. This cruel piece of policy was executed on the 24th of November, and produced good order and tranquillity in Scotland till 1443, however unjustifiable the act may appear.

The prince was now fourteen years old, and possessing sense, spirit, and resolution, determined no longer to be under the guidance of his tutors. He demanded the castle of Stirling from Levingston, and that of Edinburgh from Creichton; but as they refused to resign them till he should be at full age, he called a parliament, and proclaimed them traitors. The whole kingdom was immediately in a blaze. Creichton put himself at the head of a strong body, and over-ran the estates of the earl of Douglas, whom the king, detesting the manner of his predecessor's murder, had

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taken into favour. This nobleman, notwithstanding his seeming submission to James, was exceedingly ambitious and self-important; he ordered his military tenants to retaliate on Creichton, whilst he was contriving with the earls of Crawford and Ross to re-establish the feudal power, which James, as well as his father, desired to abolish. The earl thought that Sir William Creichton would be a good acquisition; he therefore persuaded the king to pardon him; and he was soon after restored to his office of chancellor: both he and the earl hated Levingston, whom now they caused to be imprisoned; and his eldest son to be beheaded, who was a man of great accomplishments.

On the expiration of the truce with England, the earl of Northumberland passed Solway-Frith with an army, and ravaged the country. The Scots, headed by the earl of Drummond, met and defeated them at Sack, by which they became possessed of a prodigious booty. The following year a treaty of marriage having been concluded, between the king, and Mary the daughter of the duke of Gueldres, the princess, with a grand retinue, landed in Scotland, and in July was married and crowned at Holyrood-house.

James, who was now of age, began to consider Douglas as a formidable nobleman. On intimation of his feudal intrigues, he was determined to curtail his exorbitant power. This the earl could not bear; besides, the king had released Levingston whom he now favoured, and esteemed Creichton more than ever; so that Douglas, seeing that he could not be the first man at court, retired discontentedly to his estates. He renewed a league with the lords Hamilton, Murray, Ross, and

and others, who all swore to maintain their ancient rights. In short, he did all in his power to disturb the peace of the kingdom; it was rumoured, that he even aspired to the throne. The king, offended at the ingratitude of the earl, saw his conduct with concern; yet, being unwilling to involve his people in a civil war, sent a message, with a safe-conduct to him, desiring an interview at Stirling; intending, by the most friendly arguments, to prevail on him to drop his connections and return to his duty. When they met, he expressed great duty towards his sovereign, but stoutly refused to dissolve the confederacy; on which the king was so exasperated, that he swore he should: drawing his dagger in a transport of rage, "This shall break the league," says he to the earl, and plunged it in his heart. This bloody business was transacted in February 1452; and though some charge Creichton as the contriver, yet it is more likely that the murder was the effect of the king's instant resentment on finding the earl so deaf to his reasons, and so provoking to his authority.

The civil war which the king had sought to prevent, now broke out in consequence of the death of Douglas. The earl's adherents attacked the castle, where the king kept on the defensive. All was anarchy and confusion: neutrality was no where permitted, so that unhappy Scotland bled at every pore. The rebels were so strong, that till the king was joined by the earl of Huntley, who had mustered the Leslie, Ogilvie, Grants, Irwins, and Forbese, he was unable to give them battle. Thus reinforced, James attacked them, on the 18th of May, near Brechin, and gaining a victory, it fixed the crown more

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firmly on his head. The Scots suffered extremely by a famine the ensuing winter, as the instruments of agriculture had been used in war.

The earl of Crawford, who was the chief man in the Douglas faction, having, in the following spring, submitted to James, and been pardoned by him, rebellion retired to her native Highlands; and the earl of Douglas, in expiation of his offence, proposed to undertake a pilgrimage. James submitted his conduct in this rebellion to bishop Kennedy, to Creichton in particular, and his parliament in general; and it is remarkable that so formidable a rebellion should be so soon and so easily quelled; which seems to evince that the Scots Lowlands were at that period almost unanimously loyal, and submissive to civil government. The pilgrimage, undertaken by the earl of Douglas, was, in fact, only to carry off his sister-in-law, commonly called the Fair Maid of Galloway, with whom he had fallen desperately in love. He terminated his pilgrimage in England, where he swore allegiance to king Henry, who, some say, allowed him 500*l.* a year, till he should recover his estates from king James; and thus (a practice not uncommon) he made piety the cloak of his treason and lust. The latter, notwithstanding, was very soon disappointed; for the Fair Maid, disliking his person and manners, eloped from him, and returned to Scotland. James granted her part of the Douglas estate, and appropriated the remainder to his own use.

As the royal revenues were not deemed sufficient, a parliament met on the 4th of August 1455, in which the members seem to have forgotten their feudal barbarism, and to have entertained

tained ideas of true liberty. To support the dignity of the crown, they annexed to it castles and lands in different parts of the kingdom for his majesty's residence. These were always to be royal possessions; the king could not alienate them, without the full concurrence of parliament. In case he did, the succeeding king had power to retake them, without a process of law, with all the profits and revenues from the time when such lands were alienated. They likewise enacted, that no office should be hereditary, except the guardian of the Marches. These and several other acts, tending to the security of the frontiers, were not revokable even by the king; whose power, and that of his successors, was by this parliament firmly bounded and established.

The restless Douglas, having maintained, during these transactions, a secret correspondence with Ross, lord of the Isles, excited that nobleman to rebellion. Ross accordingly declared himself independent of the crown of Scotland; and, in March 1456, he raised an army, and committed the greatest barbarities in Murray and Inverness; but not being assisted by Douglas, as he had expected, he sued for pardon, and obtained it, through the intercession of his counsellors, who was a great favourite with the king.

The king, being now in a state of tranquillity, regulated his coin by the English standard; and, like his predecessor, enacted sumptuary laws. He forbade the diversion of foot-ball and goff, ordered butts and bow-marks in every parish; and that the male inhabitants, between the years of twelve and fifty-two, should every Sunday practise shooting. He was very severe in punishing beggars, who were not under fourteen, or

above seventy years of age ; and limited the number of sailors, as the Scots about this time were much addicted to piracy.

After four years employed in making these necessary regulations in Scotland, the disputes between the houses of York and Lancaster had put England into a flame ; and it is a strong proof of the moderation of James, that he did not take advantage of these commotions. Henry's queen, after suffering several defeats, applied to James for protection and assistance, offering to give up Douglas (though he had been of great service to her) and in case, through the aid of James, she should prove victorious, to assign over to him Berwick and Northumberland. James had no great reason to favour the house of Lancaster ; and declined to do it till he found that the duke of York (who had also made him great offers) was guilty of double-dealing. He then determined to besiege Berwick and Roxburgh, and afterwards to enter England in behalf of Henry, or rather of his queen. Great preparations were made for this expedition, in which the king was excellently served by his subjects. Ross, lord of the Isles, joined him with a strong body of Highlanders ; and, to extenuate the rebellion which he had been guilty of, offered always to sustain the first shock of the enemy. The loyal earl of Huntley had also joined him, and now the king laid close siege to Roxburgh. He had a fine train of artillery ; and commanding a general discharge of it, he would needs stand by and see that his orders were punctually performed. This curiosity proved fatal to him ; for a cannon, which he stood close to, burst in the explosion, and killed him on the spot. This melancholy accident
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besel him in the 30th year of his age, the 23d of his reign, and the 3d of August 1460.

This prince was robust, tall, and active: he was brave, just, and temperate; but is said to have been passionate; of which indeed, his murdering Douglas is a proof. His deportment, though martial, was vastly engaging, familiar, and insinuating. As his father had begun to shake the pillars of Aristocracy, he possessed abilities that, had he lived, must effectually have overturned them; Scotland would then have been the first in subverting the feudal system which at that time governed all Europe.

JAMES III. the Hundredth and Fourth King.

The queen, on the death of the king, carried her son, James III. to Kelso, where he was crowned, being but seven years old. She then returned to the siege, which was carried on so much in earnest, that the castle surrendered on capitulation. She next demolished Wark, and then returning to Edinburgh, called a parliament; which, after some altercation, constituted her the king's tutrix. The dispute in England having terminated this year, 1461, in favour of the house of York, obliged Henry, his queen, and their only son, to fly to Edinburgh, where they were kindly received. The Lancastrians, however, were still a strong party, possessing many castles; in particular, Berwick, which Henry presented as a debt of gratitude to the Scots.

Douglas had now sided with the other party; and excited Ross, lord of the Isles, once more to rebellion. He renewed his cruelties with his claim of independency, and swore to assist Edward of England, as well against his own country as

the house of Lancaster. This nobleman, in the midst of his barbarities, is said to have died raving mad; but his son renewing the rebellion in 1464, Edward growing very popular, and the queen-regent being dead, the states of Scotland, for the security of the kingdom, concluded a truce with England till 1519, in which Douglas and Ross, as subjects of England, were included: but as it was stipulated in this truce, that James should, in no respect, assist Henry or the house of Lancaster, that weak prince, retiring in disguise, was discovered in Lancashire, by Sir Edward Talbot, who hurrying him to London, he was, by the exulting Edward, imprisoned in the Tower; but the queen and her young son arrived safe in France.

James's person and education had been committed to the care of Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrew's, a man of great worth and learning; who dying, the ambitious family of Boyds contrived to get the young monarch from lord Kennedy, the bishop's brother. They succeeded at an hunting match; and the king was so pleased with his change of situation, that he created the head of the Boyds, earl of Arran; gave his own sister in marriage to him, and appointed him his proxy for his own alliance with the daughter of Christian, king of Denmark and Norway. The royal nuptials, in consequence of which Shetland and the Orcades were considered as the queen's dowry, were solemnized in July.

The Boyds had lost much ground during the earl of Arran's absence; and so uncertain is the favour of a young king, that the earl, though he brought a blooming bride to his master's arms, was received with the most mortifying coolness.

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He saw the storm gathering over his head, and determined to provide against the shock. He had scarcely returned to Denmark, before he was impeached in parliament; his wife, by the most barbarous despotism, divorced; and himself (though he had procured an act, dated the 25th of October 1466, justifying his conduct in seizing the king) condemned and outlawed. James devoting himself to studies unworthy of a king, very soon disregarded his nobility, and chose himself intimates out of the very dregs of even a foreign people. He thought himself under constraint in the company of his nobles, and seemed to take infinite pains to undo all that his father and grandfather had done respecting the power of the barons, and to work his own ruin. However, the parliament still consulted the good of the nation, by making many wise statutes, the most material of which was an act concerning the fishery. Certain lords were ordered to provide busses, nets, &c. for that purpose. Had this act been well attended to, the Dutch had still, very probably, been considerable; but on the contrary, in a great measure, by this very article, they enriched themselves to a degree capable of disputing the sovereignty of the ocean.

The king now (1477) became addicted to judicial astrology, and an absurd belief of witchcraft. Thus possessed with the bigotry of an enthusiast, he put to death his own brother, the earl of Mar, on the sole authority of an old woman, who pretended that he had a design on his life. The duke of Albany, his other brother, apprehensive of a similar fate, fled into France, and from thence into England, where, entertaining a design to de-

throne his brother, he promised Edward IV. that he would swear fealty and do homage to him, if, by his assistance, he might obtain the kingdom. Edward instantly concurred with his design: he ardently longed to secure Scotland, and therefore broke the truce, and assisted Albany with forces, under the command of the duke of Gloucester, who laid siege to Berwick.

An army was raised by James, in 1482, to oppose the English; but the chiefs, who commanded in it, thought they had then the best opportunity of crushing the king's unworthy favourites, whom they accordingly seized in the king's pavilion, at the camp of Lauder. Cochran the mason, whom he had created earl of Mar, Rogers the musician, whom he had knighted, Torrisan the fencing-master, and four others of the same class, without any form of trial, were hung up directly in his presence, over a bridge, and he made no efforts to save them. After the nobility had offered this grateful sacrifice of odious favourites to their country, instead of proceeding against the enemy, they drew off in separate divisions, and the poor deserted James retired, with grief, to his residence at Edinburgh castle.

The two dukes, leaving 4000 men in the mean time before Berwick, advanced with the main body to Edinburgh. Meeting with no opposition in their march, they committed no mischief. This moderation was probably owing to Albany, who, not finding his countrymen so hearty in his designs as he expected, pretended that he only sought assistance from the English, for the recovery of his estates, without having any views detrimental to his brother. The states, therefore (for the king seems at this time to have been a mere cypher)

cypher) restored him to them; and the castle of Berwick was ceded to the English, who had insisted on being paid for their trouble.

The duke of Albany now became exceedingly popular; and James, who began in the following year to recover his authority, made him his prime minister. But the duke beginning to tamper afresh with some of the nobility, who, notwithstanding the meanness and imprudence of the king, continued his friends, grew suspected. Guilt and fear, which are always inseparable companions, made him hastily retire to his castle at Dunbar; from whence he fled, and once more sought the protection and assistance of the English. Richard received him kindly; but his own domestic concerns incapacitated him from affording any other aid than five hundred horse; with which, and what few volunteers he and the earl of Douglas (still a prisoner in England) could jointly obtain, he proposed to plunder Lochabar fair. The old earl attended him in this scandalous expedition. They thought to have surprised the market-place, but were disappointed; and suffered a shameful defeat from the borderers, who also made captive that old rebel, Douglas. This happened in 1484. Kirkpatrick, by whom he had been taken, carried him in triumph to Edinburgh. The earl appeared before his king with a fullen pride, and even turned his back on him; nevertheless, James, with a generosity which some have thought faulty and ill-timed, pardoned his crimes, and allowed him to retire to the abbey of Lindores, where he had received his education, and where he soon after died. The duke of Albany having in this defeat lost his friend Douglas, and, being afterwards unable to procure any assistance from the English, retired to France, where he ended his days.

James might have lived on good terms with his nobility, and been an happy monarch, had he not pursued worse measures : but still continuing his unpopular conduct, his nobles, piqued at his disregard of them, formed a dangerous confederacy. On the first news of it, he shut himself up in Stirling castle, forbidding any person in arms to approach it on pain of death.

The conspirators were headed in 1487, by the king's eldest son, then about fifteen years of age ; so that the extent of their design was then no longer a secret. James was given to understand, that he might, if he chose, resign his crown to his son, without bloodshed. This he refused ; on the contrary, he raised forces by proclamation, in order to subdue the rebels. Both parties met at Bannockburn, a field in which the great Bruce had gained the greatest renown. The confederate lords attacked him with great spirit, repulsed and defeated his forces. Whereupon James fled, and was pursued and taken at the house of a miller, where Borthwick stabbed him to the heart. Thus he fell on the 11th of June 1488, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and in the twenty-ninth of his reign.

He was certainly a weak, mean, jealous, and credulous prince ; though many errors of government, into which he fell, may be attributed to his want of a settled and regular education : this defect, however, might have been supplied by able counsellors ; but he hated his nobility, and they effected his ruin. As a man, he was just, merciful, and remarkably handsome. His justice is indeed questioned by some, for uttering coin, which, for its exceeding baseness, was called *Black Money* ; but as soon as he found it was disagreeable

agreeable to his people, it was called in. The many edifices he erected, shewed he had a good taste of architecture.

J A M E S IV. the Hundredth and Fifth King.

As soon as the news of the late king's death, which was for some time unknown, reached the ears of young James, he is said to have discovered much contrition and filial regard. But the young monarch's grief was but of short duration; and as he discovered, as well towards his people as himself, an excellent disposition, it was succeeded by tranquillity throughout the kingdom, which for several years had been unknown. Parties (the bane and disgrace of a nation) coalesced; and the parliament, which met in 1493, was wholly intent upon what is too often only a secondary consideration,—the service of their country. Observing the neglect of the late law respecting the fishery, they enacted, that all maritime towns should provide vessels at least twenty tons burthen for that service; and that idle persons should be pressed to man them. This act was followed by several others relative to their trade and civil policy: and in regard to their religion, they held the pope's authority so cheap, as to pass a vote, that none should be considered as his legates but cardinals, and such as were natives of Scotland.

James, who came of age in 1494, took a circuit round his dominions, that he might discover and redress his people's grievances. He made such wise regulations in behalf of the poor, that (to use his own expression) "the bulrush guarded the cow." He also every-where encouraged agriculture, rightly considering it as the
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great source of a nation's ease, opulence, and glory: in short, scarcely any thing was omitted, which tended to promote the welfare of his people, insure his own happiness, and circulate his fame. There cannot be a greater proof of James's good character, than that so shrewd, cautious, and parsimonious a monarch as Henry VII. of England, should invite him to be his son-in-law. This match, which would have been the most illustrious of any in Europe, was prevented by the arrival of Perkin Warbeck, who was set up by the dutchess of Burgundy to personate one of the children of Edward IV. both of whom were generally thought to be murdered by Richard III. Perkin had at one time a very strong party in England, who really believed him to be the identical duke of York. He was a young man nearly of James's age, sensible and engaging; and the Scots monarch, who had a great deal of the knight-errant in his disposition, considering him as a distressed prince, not only gave him a very hospitable reception, and his own cousin in marriage, but entered so warmly into his cause, as to endeavour to place him on the English throne.

The principal, if not the sole, motive of James in this action was glory: in 1497, he raised a formidable army, with which, accompanied by the pretender, he entered Northumberland. A manifesto was also published against Henry as a traitor, tyrant, and murderer; and all loyal subjects were invited to join their lawful prince; but not a man of the least consequence repaired to his standard; so that James, who now began to think that he had been imposed on, after ravaging the country, returned with a considerable

able booty to his dominions. Henry being at this time engaged in quelling a very powerful rebellion, and in no condition to resent the affront, as a salvo for his honour, procured the Spanish ambassador (who was treating with Henry on a marriage between Ferdinand's daughter and the prince of Wales) to prevail on James to dismiss Perkin, and solicit an accommodation. James needed little intreaty to part with Perkin, whom he now believed to be the son of a proselyte Jew of Tournay. A seven years truce with England was patched up; and Perkin, whom James would not betray, was allowed a ship to convey him to the continent; but determining to try his fate once more in England, he landed in Cornwall, was taken prisoner at Taunton, and executed at London as a traitor, in November 1499. But Henry, struck with the uncommon beauty of his wife, and finding that she was not pregnant, made her a lady of his queen's bed-chamber, to which a suitable revenue was annexed.

An end being now put to the disturbances in England, Fox, bishop of Durham, was ordered, in 1500, to hint to James, that an alliance with the king of England would be advantageous; James now thought so too, and therefore he demanded Henry's daughter in form. Margaret was accordingly given to him, with a portion of 30,000*l.* though being then but ten years old, she was not to enter Scotland till 1503, nor was her fortune to be paid till after consummation. This negociation, which gave birth to the future union, paved the way to a present peace between the two crowns, which was ratified on the 4th of January 1502. Henry, in his treaty, called himself king of France as well as of England; but

but it is memorable to observe, that the former title was obliged to be struck out, before James would ratify his conditions; a compliment to the French, which that nation had never merited, from her former conduct towards the Scots.

Peace being thus concluded with England, James, in 1502, assembled his parliament, which voted proper courts of justice all over the Highlands, where, though mostly wanted, they had been greatly neglected: so that there was now hardly a spot in Scotland, where the inhabitants could not immediately appeal for redress. Pre-meditated, as well as accidental murder, was exceedingly common; the perpetrators of the former were therefore ordered to be punished by death. Severe laws were enacted against smuggling, and all transmarine suits were to be settled by arbitration. The parliament then consisting of three estates, viz. great barons, lesser barons, and clergy, next began its own regulation. In the feudal system, the less was always accountable to the greater. If the baron had vassals under him, the king exacted the service of the baron; and originally attendance in parliament, which formerly was called the king's court, was a point of duty. Accordingly, every baron, great or small, was obliged to attend the king's summons till the time of Robert Bruce; who, finding that it gave the latter trouble and uneasiness, dispensed with their attendance. James I. enacted this into a law, obliging them, however, to send a certain number of men, whom they best respected, to represent them all. But the attendance of the greater barons was on no pretence to be omitted. As James IV. complained that his boroughs were not properly represented, it

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was enacted by the parliament then sitting, that the great councils of all capital towns should regularly, against every meeting of the senate, chuse and send burgeses, who, together with the other barons, should debate on such useful acts as should, from time to time, be offered to their consideration, by the lords of articles (noblemen who were appointed to prepare and bring in bills). But, notwithstanding this act, it does not appear that they were quite regular, in this respect, till the reign of James VI.

The young queen sat out for Richmond in Surry on the 16th of June, in company with her father, and attended by his prime nobility. The king saw her to his mother's seat at Collewston; after which, he resigned her to the earls of Surry and Northumberland, who conducted her to the borders of Scotland, where she was received with tenderness by his majesty; and the next day, in the most superb and elegant manner, escorted to Edinburgh. For several weeks there were the greatest rejoicings: nothing was omitted to give the young queen a favourable idea of her change, and to contribute to her happiness.

There seemed to be nothing now wanting to render James completely happy: he was in perfect peace abroad; allied to a monarch, if not the greatest, perhaps the richest in the world; in the most friendly correspondence with his nobles, who repaid his confidence with affection and duty; and, conscious of no crimes, he was happy in himself. His study was his people's prosperity; and literature and the fine arts were his amusements. In 1507, he chastised the Netherlands for plundering his merchantmen, by sending
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ing against them a squadron under the command of the famous Barton.

On the demise of Henry VII. his son Henry VIII. ascended the throne of England in 1509. James congratulated his brother-in-law on the occasion, and they lived in perfect amity for four years, during which time James had greatly augmented his navy, and had built (more indeed for shew than service) a ship called the St. Michael, 250 feet from stern to stern, and 40 within her sides, which (says one) were ten feet thick: she was commanded by Barton, and seems to have been the greatest vessel then in Europe.

We are now come to the most disagreeable part of James's reign; his unhappy difference with England, which brought on his ruin. We have remarked, that it was customary, whenever the English invaded France, for the Scots, as the ally of the latter, to make a diversion into England in their favour. Henry was at this time at war with that nation; and James, whose notions of honour and punctilio ran exceedingly high, was attacked on his weak side, both by the French ministers, then at his court, and his own clergy, by arguments and persuasions, not a little forcible on the mind of a young high-spirited prince. It appears, that the English king had expected James would break with him, and therefore had prepared himself against it; so that when James attacked Berwick and Norham, they made a most vigorous resistance. However, he took the latter; and then, contrary to the earnest dissuasions of his wife, he proceeded on his march into England, at the head of 50,000 men, amongst whom were all his principal nobility, who were as passionately fond of glory as their

their sovereign. James was stopped in his career by the earl of Surry, at the head of 26,000 choice troops, near Floddon; where James and his gallant army, by the superior conduct of Surry, who was an excellent commander, were defeated. James, scorning to survive his disgrace, rushed into the thickest of the enemy and was slain; and most of the nobility, retaining the same sentiment, shared the fate of their prince.

Some have attributed this memorable defeat, which happened September 9, 1513, to the treachery of the earl of Hume, who drew off unaccountably with his division. The English, however, did not know that they had gained a victory till the next day, when they found themselves masters of the field and the Scots artillery. Thus fell the great James, in the 40th year of his age, and the 25th of his reign, in a battle rashly undertaken, unfortunately conducted, and fatally determined.

He was of a middle stature, robust, and of a pleasing aspect: his genius was elevated and enterprising: in manners, he was gentle, affable, polite, and, as a king, he may be stiled the father of his people. He was slow in making a resolution; but, when once resolved, he never receded: the too fond affection of popular applause was his failing; and if he had a fault, it was his immoderate attachment to the fair sex. He maintained a literary correspondence with the princes of his time, and wrote Latin in a stile perfectly classical. No greater proof can be given of his zeal to promote arts and sciences, than his introducing the art of printing into his dominions, where the book first printed was a breviary of the church of Aberdeen

Aberdeen in 1509. This art had been known in England ever since the year 1471.

Every nobleman in those days, for the benefit of his family and dependents, studied surgery; and James, who was himself an adept in that useful art, ordained pupils of less quality, who, before his death, were established at Edinburgh into a regular society. Being a king of great abilities, and excellently disposed, he was extremely regretted by his subjects. Be this as it may, it is very certain, that Scotland, while an independent kingdom, was at the zenith of her glory during the reign of this great prince.

Nothing very material occurred relating to the church during this century. It may be observed, in general, that as James III. by his indiscreet promotions, created much disturbance; so the clergy, in consequence, once remarkable for mutual agreement and sobriety, grew factious and encroaching; so that the Reformation, which, towards the close of this century, began to dawn, appears to have been absolutely necessary, if considered only in a political view.

In this century were founded the three universities of St. Andrew, Glasgow, and Aberdeen: the first in 1412; the second in 1457; the last in 1493; and the tutors attended their respective classes many years gratis; so great was their zeal for the propagation of science.

JAMES V. the Hundredth and Sixth King.

Before the late king undertook his ill-advised expedition, he had bequeathed the regency of the kingdom, during the non-age of his son (an infant of a year old) to his queen. The important office, however, was to be taken from her

her on a re-marriage; and, as this was the condition of her authority, it was universally believed that she would remain a widow. But it proved otherwise; for every thought of that youthful queen seemed to center in a passion for the earl of Angus. This accomplished young nobleman was chief of the house of Douglas, and, next to lord Hume, the most powerful of any that had survived the battle of Flodden. The affection between him and the queen was mutual; and love, though he seldom exerts his power in a royal breast, was so impetuous, that, within the space of a year, the regency was forfeited. The queen married the earl without making her intention known, either to the states of the kingdom, or to her brother Henry, who had shewn great tenderness towards her; having generously recalled his troops, instead of pursuing the advantage which the late defeat had given him over the Scots.

Great confusion followed upon this hasty marriage: one part of the nation was for continuing the queen: but lord Hume, who hated the Douglas family, and finding that he had not interest sufficient to procure the office for himself, determined to exert all he had in favour of the duke of Albany; who, chiefly through his means, was accordingly elected regent. Albany was the son of that duke, who was brother to James III. and had taken shelter in France, after his defeat at Lochmaben. The circumstance of his being a Frenchman was favourable to his election, but far from being so to the interest of Scotland; and he landed at Dumbarton, on the 18th of May 1515, when his knowledge of the language and constitution was very superficial.

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The prior of St. Andrew's was pitched upon by the duke for his instructor; for, being a man of sense, he was desirous, as much as possible, to avoid erring in his regency, through ignorance. The prior, though an able politician, was jealous and revengeful: in giving Albany the necessary information, he was also too crafty to let slip so fair an opportunity of maliciously mingling his personal resentments. As Hume, the lord chamberlain, had disgusted him, he therefore, in the characters which he gave the duke of the principal men in the realm, drew a most odious picture of that nobleman; nor did he exhibit a more flattering portrait of Angus. Thus prepossessed, the regent behaved with uncommon reserve to these noblemen, whose favour and interest ought rather to have been courted by a conduct diametrically opposite. Such an impolitic demeanour could not but excite surmises. Should the king's brother die, Albany was presumptive heir; it was therefore intimated to the queen, that she would do well to fly with her two babes to England; and by putting them under her brother's protection, be assured of their safety. This advice was extremely agreeable to one who mortally hated the regent. She accordingly prepared for her flight; but her intention being discovered, the infants were taken from her, and delivered to the care of three noblemen, who were deservedly beloved by the public. The queen was then informed that she might prosecute her journey; and the regent was beforehand with her, in acquainting Henry with his conduct, which he fully justified; but though he admitted his reasons, he was, on many accounts, averse to his regency; it is therefore thought, that he secretly stimulated the earl of Hume, who, finding

finding himself to be suspected, had taken arms, and was ravaging the borders of Scotland.

The death of the king's brother, January 1516, really alarmed Henry : he sent ministers to Scotland with offers of a lasting peace, on condition that the regent was removed ; but though that condition was not complied with, he thought it prudent to conclude a truce with the states of the kingdom, till the feast of St. Andrew in 1520.

The integrity with which the regent acted, clearly appearing to Hume, he disbanded his forces, and was received into favour. But Hepburn devoted to destruction both him and his brother William, whom he represented as a traitor. These charges could not be proved, but more feasible ones were produced. They were therefore cited for the murder of the late king, for non-performance of their duty at Flodden, and for unnatural crimes with each other. Though both these articles were unsupported by sufficient evidence, yet they were condemned to die, and accordingly beheaded on the 12th of October. Hume was warden of the Marches, and lord chamberlain; the former post the regent conferred on his intimate friend Sir Andrew D'Arcy, a Frenchman, commonly called the chevalier de la Beauté. The duke having thus settled every thing to his satisfaction, he left his power chiefly in the hands of D'Arcy, and determined to retire into France for about six months.

The resentment of the Scots could now no longer be restrained : they in general disapproved of the sentence inflicted on the Humes ; they were exasperated against D'Arcy ; and the presence of the queen, who had left England before the

the regent had arrived in France, rendered them, to the last degree, vindictive.

On September 20, 1517, a party, conducted by Sir George Douglas and Sir David Hume, waylaid La Beauté. His attendants being all cut off, he attempted to make his escape: unfortunately for him, his horse plunged into a bog, which leaving him the prey of his enemies, they greedily tore him in pieces. Douglas, with a savage fury, seized his head, and fixing it by the hair to his saddle-brow, rode in triumph to Dunbar, and stuck it on the battlements. The states took very little cognizance of this action; though they did not chuse to defend it.

The regent's presence became now indispensably necessary: it would have been convenient much sooner, but the intrigues of Henry, or rather of his artful minister Wolsey, had been sufficiently powerful to keep him in France. On November 19, 1521, however, he arrived in Scotland, which he found the seat of confusion. Summoning a parliament on the 26th of Jan. following, he was determined to be severe on the earl of Angus, who had assembled his military tenants, to act against the earl of Arran; though, on the regent's arrival, he had disbanded his forces, and was disposed for peace. He made diligent search after the murderers of his friend D'Arcy, but they had taken sanctuary in England. And though he considered Angus in a great measure accessory, yet a year's banishment in France was the greatest punishment he could obtain for that nobleman.

This sentence was no way disagreeable to Angus; he rather chose to comply with it, than be the occasion of further disorder. The queen's violent

violent passion for him had long since not only evaporated, but he had now become so much the object of her hatred, that she was pursuing every method to procure a divorce: she had even applied to the regent for assistance; and this circumstance, with many additions, having been carried to the ears of her brother Henry, that monarch grew more and more exasperated against the regent, whom he now considered as having alienated her from his interest, that his own might be more effectually promoted.

Henry had been promised by Francis, the French monarch, that the regent should never return to Scotland; and the king of England made a breach of this promise, one pretext for a war against Francis. Henry had no great antipathy to the Scots; his nephew was exceedingly dear to him; but as he saw the regent now acting altogether like a vice-roy of France, instead of being the protector of an independent people: he let the Scots know, that they must either remove him, or expose themselves to his resentment. The Scots vindicated the actions of their regent, and considered this demand of Henry as an attack on their liberty, when in fact they were little better than the tools of France. They peremptorily refused to dismiss the duke; and let Henry know, that though hostilities were far from being agreeable to them, they could nevertheless defend themselves against his attacks.

As soon as the English ambassadors were dismissed, the regent went over to France; where he communicated to the king the sentiments and resolution of the Scots parliament. As Francis did not question but that Henry would make good his threats, the regent was dispatched back again

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with about 4000 troops (all that Francis could then spare) with particular injunctions not to make peace with England without his concurrence. Henry made use of every stratagem to intercept the regent; notwithstanding which, he landed in Scotland, with his troops, in August 1523. The truce being nearly expired, he summoned a parliament to debate on the necessary measures to be taken with Henry; whose generosity of spirit had even led him, not only to propose a lasting peace with the Scots, but, at the same time, to negotiate a treaty of marriage between their king and his eldest daughter. These offers the regent prevailed with them to reject, as not being agreeable to Francis; Albany, likewise, made use of the most powerful arguments against it; but every opposition was at length borne down by that persuasive logic, Bribery.

An alliance being thus refused, which would have made the king of Scotland the undoubted heir of the English crown, the regent naturally enough concluded, that he should find no difficulty in persuading them to invade England; but here he was mistaken: for though he led them to the borders, represented the English as their very worst enemies, stormed and soothed, yea, flattered and bribed, they flatly refused to cross the Tweed. The fatal field of Flodden, which gave the severest blow that the feudal system ever felt, had not yet been forgotten by them; and they knew that the earl of Surry, at the head of 40,000 men, was prepared for their reception, had they advanced. Henry had ordered the earl not to attack the Scots; and the regent was under the mortifying necessity of leading his troops back again, without coming to action.

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The queen's party, by the artifice of Wolsey, had so far increased during the winter, that the regent had, in great measure, lost his influence. It was publicly declared, that the king was now of fit age to take the reins of government; and Albany, in all probability, now began to consider, that when that event took place, his majesty might requite him after the manner of his predecessor. He determined therefore to take care of himself in time; and set sail for France, on the 14th of May 1524, with a resolution never to return to Scotland.

On this agreeable news, Henry sent the earl of Angus (whom he had before invited from his exile) into Scotland; in order to strengthen the English interest, by a reconciliation with his wife. But he found the queen's hatred too deeply rooted; and as she had connected herself, in politics, with the earl of Arran, Angus found he was excluded from any share in the administration. Angus knowing that Henry suspected Arran to be in the French interest, formed a party against him, and was soon joined by the earls of Lenox and Argyle. The queen, in the mean time, as well to prevent her brother's receiving any impressions to her disadvantage, as to manifest the integrity of the earl of Arran, sent the earl of Cassils to desire a lasting peace with him, and also an alliance agreeable to his former proposal. But Henry, on the Scots refusal, had promised his daughter to the emperor Charles V. of Germany; however, he concluded a three year's truce with Scotland, that he might have time to consider what part he should act.

The earl of Angus had found means, before this truce expired, to alienate the young king from

his mother, and to gain his entire confidence. The queen had obtained a divorce from her husband, and was now his bitterest enemy ; but, as the king, her son, had created him his chancellor, he was above her reach. Angus very soon grew intoxicated with power ; and not only committed the greatest excesses himself, but connived at them in others. He had enticed the king to Falkland, where, though he treated him with all imaginable respect, promoted every exercise and pleasure by day, and pandered for him by night, the young monarch, surrounded as he was by flattery and dissipation, considered himself as little better than his prisoner. He had very probably become acquainted with the earl's misuse of power ; and this consideration might have been a further incitement to his escape from Falkland to his mother at Stirling, which he therefore effected in June 1527, during the absence of Angus, and in the habit of a groom.

No sooner was the king's arrival at Stirling publicly known, than numbers of the nobility, who hated Angus, repaired thither to assist his majesty, in case a fresh attempt should be made to retake his person. Their zeal and foresight was timely : for Angus, immediately on receiving news of the king's flight, assembled 2000 troops, and was marching with all haste towards Stirling. But the lords Maxwell and Lochinvar, with the like number of men, had taken possession of the town, in behalf of their sovereign ; and upon the approach of the earl, they repulsed him with the greatest resolution and loyalty. The king then, by the advice of his nobles, indicted the earl of Angus, his brother George Douglas, his uncle Archibald Douglas, and Alexander Drummond,

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with some of their chief dependents, for treason. The Douglas's, unable to stand their ground, retired into England for refuge. The king being in possession of their estates, winked at their obtaining an asylum in England; and the truce being now expired, he concluded another with his uncle for five years, in which time a lasting peace was to be considered on by both parties.

Mean time the king assembled 8000 forces, and proceeded to the skirts of his kingdom, that he might punish the licentious borderers: of these, the most daring seems to have been one John Armstrong of Gilnock-Hall. This fellow, who had a number of vassals under his command, lived in the greatest state and affluence, by levying contributions on the English. The king ordered him to appear by such a day, and answer for his conduct. Armstrong, thinking that the king would rather approve than condemn him, and at the same time fond of displaying his magnificence, appeared before his sovereign attended by twenty-six gentlemen on horseback, richly caparisoned, as his body-guard. James, astonished at his insolence, let him know that he had presumed to exercise a power which belonged only to majesty, and then ordered him to be hung up on the spot: having strengthened his authority by a few more examples, he left the borders of his kingdom somewhat civilized, dismissed his forces, and returned to Edinburgh.

From this time, namely, in 1532, the king grew prodigiously attached to his clergy, remembering how he had been used by Angus; and considering the rest of his nobility as having the same will, if ever they should have the same power; he employed his prelates to assist him in becoming

independent of his nobles. The clergy, it must be observed, were dependent on him; for every king of Scotland had the sole right of nomination to vacant bishoprics and abbeys; and therefore he was pretty certain that they would heartily concur in his design. He well knew they would be of the greatest service to him; for besides their private influence, they were reckoned (as has been observed) one of the three estates of parliament; and as they regularly returned members, they often occasioned a majority. Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, was selected from among them, to be his bosom friend; he was a man of genius, and rendered the king the most important services, in return for his confidence.

James then set about repairing his fortifications, and furnishing his magazines; and thinking it now no longer necessary to dissemble his intentions, he first treated his nobles with apparent coldness; removed them soon after, by degrees, from places of profit and trust; and then, effectually to mortify them, the vacant posts were bestowed on ecclesiastics. The nobility bore the king's frowns with great impatience; and though they were obliged to submit, at that time, to his encroachments, they determined to assert their privileges the first opportunity.

At this juncture, 1535, the king's attachment to his clergy proved extremely unfortunate; his uncle, who had disclaimed the pope's authority, desired an interview with James, at York. Now, though James was desirous of an intimate connection with Henry, and therefore had no objection to the proposed interview, he yet determined to be governed by his clergy; and as they loudly inveighed against Henry, as an arch heretic,
against

against whom the pope had published five separate bulls; as they declared that their king could not be safely trusted in his hands, and made use of every argument that malice could invent, to blacken the character of Henry, and dissuade him from going, James, who was a bigoted Catholic, approved their zeal, and declined the interview with his uncle.

Now Henry had so managed matters with the emperor, that he still had it in his power to give his daughter Mary to James; he offered her, or the princess Elizabeth, to him: and the reason of his desiring a meeting with his nephew, was to confer with him concerning the Reformation; and to settle matters relative to his succeeding him. James, unwilling to shock Henry by a blunt denial, pretended that the pope had forbidden him to set a foot in England; and he soon after received a brief to that effect from his holiness.

The king was next advised by the clergy to marry a princess of France; which advice the yielding monarch readily complied with, though the emperor Charles had offered him the choice of two princesses of his own house, of exquisite beauty and prodigious fortune: but the emperor was considered as a favourer of the Reformation. Francis having offered James the choice of either of his daughters, he determined to take a voyage to France, in order to espouse the most agreeable; which, in his eyes, proved to be Magdalen the eldest daughter, and their nuptials were accordingly, on January 7, 1537, celebrated with great pomp. Her fortune was 100,000 crowns of the sun, and her jointure adequate to that sum. The king of France likewise agreed to pay James 30,000 francs during her life. But this

was but a trifling addition to her fortune ; for the young queen fell ill, and died of a fever on the 22d of July, shortly after her arrival in Scotland.

Two very remarkable trials succeeded the queen's death. The clergy not content with having driven the nobility from court, which was doubtless as far as the king's vengeance against them extended ; they followed them in their retirements, and strove to draw from the elder barons such words as they might be able to construe into treason. The old nobles avoided the snare ; but John Forbes, the chief of a great family, being a young man, less cool and reserved, fell into it. He was accordingly accused of forming a design to murder the king, and restore the earl of Angus to his estates ; and though the whole proof of this charge centered in a few incautious words, they were deemed sufficient evidences to bring him to the block. Forbes was no sooner executed, than it was whispered to the king, that certainly the lady Jane Douglas (who was sister to the earl of Angus, and the only one of his family then in Scotland) must certainly have been privy to the design of Forbes ; and, as she did not discover it, ought to be considered as his accomplice. She was therefore forthwith apprehended ; and, though known to be a woman of exemplary virtue, unacquainted with courts, and almost ignorant of the name of faction ; though not the least shadow of proof could be produced, she was sentenced to death by her arbitrary judges (who now met rather to condemn than to try) ; and the king, who might have pardoned her, chose rather to gratify an unmanly revenge against a relation to the earl of Angus, and accordingly

cordingly ordered her to be burnt alive, under the pretence also of being guilty of witchcraft.

These executions, which are most indelible blots in this reign, being over, the king set on foot a negociation for a marriage with Mary of Guise, dutchess dowager of Longueville; and though Henry strove to hinder this marriage, it was concluded on; and Mary landed in Scotland in the spring of the year 1538.

Henry, though he had been much provoked by his nephew's conduct, was yet unwilling to break with him, being averse to hostilities; and accordingly, in January 1540, appointed Sir Ralph Sadler to be his ambassador at the court of Scotland. Sadler was charged with private dispatches to James, chiefly concerning the Reformation; and Henry urged him, a second time, to give him an interview, notwithstanding the interdiction of the pope; which he ridiculed, and would fain have persuaded his nephew also to despise. He wished eagerly that his nephew would imitate him, by seizing the revenues of all the abbies within his dominions; and he told him so. James, who afterwards produced these dispatches in public, declared, that he could not, in conscience, prevail on himself to commit such a sacrilegious action. But this was, indeed, a ridiculous reason for the Scots king to give, who had already bestowed on five of his natural children the abbies of Kelso, Coldingham, Melros, Holyrood-House, and St. Andrew's; the revenues of which (nearly equal to those of the crown) he reserved for them in his exchequer, till they should become of age.

James, who had reason to expect that his uncle would quarrel with him should he again refuse the interview, thought fit, with the advice of

Beatoun, to temporise. Sadler was therefore ordered to return such an answer to his master, as led Henry to conclude, that James would give him the meeting he so much desired; for Henry entertained so good an opinion of his own abilities, that he did not doubt, if he could but confer with his nephew, he should soon be able to free him from the superstition of Popery, and persuade him to join in his measures.

Accordingly Henry, in 1541, went to York where he fully expected to have met his nephew; who, instead of appearing there, transmitted such paltry excuses, that the king of England saw plainly that James did not intend to meet him at all. And as he now heartily despised him, he sent such a message to him from York, as cardinal Beatoun construed into a declaration of war; and it certainly was attended by some skirmishes on the borders. Henry, indeed, was not of a temper to digest such an affront: the more he reviewed the behaviour of James, the more was he exasperated; so that in the year following he threatened to invade Scotland.

The invasion of England, which James had been meditating, though opposed by the nobility, was now, in 1542, firmly resolved on; and Beatoun undertook to cajole the nobles into concurrence. Some, and chiefly lord Maxwell, unwilling to exasperate the king still more against them, agreed, though it was then November, to enter England, by the Solway, with 10,000 men.

Highly pleased with this intelligence, James took the fatal resolution of constituting Oliver Sinclair, a minion of his, commander in chief in that expedition. Oliver kept his commission a secret till the Scots troops had passed the borders, and advanced to the Firth of Solway, where Sir Thomas

Wharton

Wharton had hastily collected about 500 men, which he had posted advantageously, and with which he intended to oppose their progress. Sinclair then read his commission, which (says an elegant historian) produced an effect not to be paralleled in history. Their contempt of the general, and hatred of the king, overcoming the fear of death and the love of liberty, the whole 10,000 men, on the example of the nobles, submitted, without striking a blow, to so inferior a number.

James, when informed of this astonishing circumstance, sunk to the ground with indignation and grief: he had been anxious about the event of the expedition, and therefore the news affected him the more; and as he had violent passions, he fell a prey to them; for he languished in the most deplorable condition till the 13th of December, and then expired in the 30th year of his age, and not without suspicion of being poisoned.

He was of the middle size, fair and comely, unquestionably brave, vigilant, and temperate; but a contemporary historian (who knew him personally) says, that whatever virtues he might have, they were more than equalled by vices.

On the 7th of May 1532, in this reign, the court of sessions was founded.

M A R Y I. the One Hundredth and Seventh Sovereign.

The soul of James was so totally absorbed with grief and resentment, that though he must have been sensible that his end was approaching, he had not taken one step towards settling a regency during the long minority of his daughter, who at his death was but about eight days old; for the court of Scotland was so irregular when this

unfortunate princeſs was born, that hiſtorians are not agreed as to the præciſe day. But though the king had neglected this great point, the boundleſs ambition of cardinal Beatoun infligated him to frame a will, by which he himſelf, having been prime miniſter in the late reign, now claimed the regency. His forgery being ſpeedily detected, the iniquitous and aspiring prelate was tumbled from his towering height, and the important office of regent conferred on James Hamilton, earl of Arran.

This nobleman, being naturally timid, the choice of him was in many reſpects unhappy: for this failing was productive of the greateſt inſtability in his conduct, at a time when wars with England, factions at home, and, above all, the dawning Reformation, required the utmoſt ſteadineſs and reſolution. No wonder therefore that the regent ſoon expoſed himſelf to the artifice of ſo ſubtle a ſtateſman as Beatoun, who, after a few weeks imprifonment, was allowed to return to his caſtle of St. Andrew's; though by forging a will for the late king, the laws of his country might have convicted him of high-treaſon: but inſtead of this, the intriguing cardinal very ſoon held the maſter-wire, whiſt Arran, having the name of regent, was answerable for conſequences.

Whatever the deſigns of Henry VIII. were, he had generouſly diſmiſſed all the noble captives who had ſurrendered themſelves at Solway; they returned to Edinburgh in the middle of January, charged with a propoſal of peace, and then of uniting the two kingdoms by a marriage of his ſon Edward with their infant queen. This propoſal was ſtrongly ſeconded by the earl of Angus
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(now returned from exile) and much urged by Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, who expatiated so largely on the happy effects such an union would produce, that the regent seemed exceedingly desirous of it. The earl was a friend to the Reformation; and as he knew that an alliance like this would greatly promote it, the treaty was accordingly concluded on; and the young queen, when she should attain her 10th year, was to be sent into England. Henry, in the mean time, promised to preserve inviolable peace, and not to interfere in the government of Scotland.

The ratification of this treaty gave no disgust to Beatoun: for though he mortally hated the king of England, and disliked the alliance, he knew it would be no difficult matter to persuade the regent to renounce Henry's friendship, and declare for the interest of France. The weak and irresolute Arran, within the space of a month, was cajoled—not only to break the treaty—but to abjure the doctrines of the Reformation in the Franciscan church at Stirling. The regent now gave himself up wholly to the cardinal, and to the queen-mother, who espoused Popery with all that fiery zeal which bigotry can inspire. They had obtained an act for the prosecution of the reformed, whom they began to butcher with the most unremitting cruelty. This occasioned a strong division in favour of Henry and the Reformation, which was headed by the earls of Angus and Lenox, who engaged the cardinal's party, but were defeated, and fled to England for refuge.

Henry was now so exasperated at the treatment which he had received, that he determined the Scots should feel the weight of his resentment.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, on the 3d of May 1544, a considerable body of troops landed at Leith; and the Scots, believing that Henry had full employment for all his troops in France, being unprepared to oppose their progress, they entered Edinburgh with great ease, and terribly ravaged all the country round.

This impolitic invasion, Beatoun did not omit to take advantage of, by employing every art to wean the Scots from the English: he represented Henry as the vilest of encroachers, who by thus enforcing his odious alliance, and espousing the cause of Heretics, was striking at the very root of their liberties. In short, he so successfully applied himself to the passions and prejudices of a tenacious and irascible people, that, in general, the alliance with such an excommunicated wretch as Henry was thought on with abhorrence. And had not Francis I. concluded a peace with England, in which the Scots, contrary to the inclination of Henry, were comprehended, they were determined on a war, which would probably have proved very fierce and bloody, being chiefly a religious one.

Scotland being now at peace, the cardinal began to redouble his rage against the Protestants. The Reformation, notwithstanding the persecutions of that infamous prelate, every day gained ground. George Wishart, a man of good family and sound learning, had recommended the doctrines of the Reformation, with a meekness and candour which always accompanies true piety: his ministry, which had been mostly confined to the houses of his friends, had met with such considerable success, that Beatoun, considering him as the prop of the reformation, resolved at all events to bring

bring him to the stake. And though the seeds of the Reformation had, in 1546, received a parliamentary sanction in Scotland, and the regent before his apostacy had allowed English bibles to be publickly read; yet Wishart was seized, and the cardinal, by his legantine authority, brought him to the fiery trial; which, though aggravated by every circumstance which bigotry and barbarity could inspire, he endured, on the 1st of March, with a primitive resolution and constancy.

The execution of this worthy man was viewed by Beatoun from his castle of St. Andrew's; and he now considered heresy to be nearly extinguished: he therefore gave a loose to his passions, and behaved every-where with the most uncontrollable insolence: but he one day so grossly insulted Norman Lesley, son of the earl of Rothes, that he determined the cardinal's life should appease his resentment. Accordingly, Lesley, with fifteen of his friends, gaining admittance into his castle, and entering his chamber, found him sitting in a chair. Lesley then very gravely addressed himself to the cardinal, recapitulating his cruelties, and advised him instantly to implore divine forgiveness: he then with the greatest deliberation gave him two stabs in the body; and the rest following his example, the wretched prelate fell a speedy sacrifice, exclaiming with his latest breath—"I am a priest."—Finding that their intention had taken air, they admitted upwards of 100 more of their friends into the castle, which was presently surrounded by a number of troops, sent by the clergy to rescue their cardinal. The conspirators let them know that they had come too late; and to convince them of it, they threw the lifeless trunk amongst them, out of the
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very window from which the cardinal had triumphantly beheld the tortures of the pious Wishart a few weeks before: thus was Scotland delivered (though by means not justifiable) of the most powerful man in it; who, according to all report, was unhappily at the same time the most bigoted, the most wicked, unrelenting, and cruel. The conspirators kept possession of the castle for five months. At last being besieged in form, by a body of French troops, under the command of Leon Strozzi, they capitulated for life and limb; and as Strozzi deemed them his prisoners, they were accordingly transported into France, together with the cardinal's immense treasures.

This assistance from the French roused the jealousy of the English: they considered it as an infringement of the peace; and Henry VIII. dying in the beginning of the year 1547, the Commons of England impowered the regent duke of Somerset to proceed with vigour against the Scots, and compel them to forsake the French; and if other means should fail, to oblige them likewise to fulfil the alliance with England, which had been so solemnly agreed on. But the queen-dowager managed affairs too artfully even to suffer the Scots to consent to the union.

Both nations now resolved on war; and in the beginning of September, the duke of Somerset entered Scotland at the head of 18,000 men, whilst a fleet of 60 sail of ships appeared on the coast. The Scots had prepared themselves for the duke's reception. But before matters came to an extremity, Somerset published a manifesto, urging a union of the two nations, by a match between the princess and Edward, and wrote a letter

to the regent, informing him, that on assurance that the queen should not be disposed of to a foreign prince, he would immediately withdraw his troops.

Notwithstanding this, the fickle regent was prevailed on by the queen dowager and her party, not only to disregard the duke's applications, but to treat his reasonings with contempt; whereupon both parties prepared for battle. The English were encamped at Preston-Pans, and the Scots at Muffelburg. Somerset had secured an eminence, which not only commanded a communication with his fleet, but gave him the advantage of the wind and sun. The Scots, under all these disadvantages, were rash enough to begin the attack. They were armed with bucklers, and pikes eighteen feet long, and moved in so firm a phalanx, that they actually dispersed the English cavalry; but such batteries of artillery were discharged on them from the shipping, and the foreign fusileers, that they were obliged to give ground. The earl of Angus, who had lately deserted the English interest, and now commanded the Scotch van-guard, endeavoured to shelter his troops, in some measure, by retiring towards the main body; which motion being unhappily mistaken for a flight, the whole army fell into a confusion, which the English, taking advantage of, soon rendered irretrievable. An universal rout, and a terrible carnage ensued. The Scots were pursued five hours; and the three roads, by which they fled, were covered with pikes, bucklers, and dead bodies. This was called the *Battle of Pinkey*, one of the most fatal which the Scots had ever fought, and in which they lost at least 10,000 men. Two thousand are said, in the pursuit, to have counterfeited

counterfeited death, and to have thus escaped in the night, amongst whom was Angus; amongst the prisoners were the earl of Huntley, the lords Yester, Hamilton, and Wemys.

The duke then plundered Leith, and burnt Kinghorn; but, through a want of provision, was soon after obliged to return to England with his forces; and the queen-mother, by her artful conduct, induced the Scots to sue to the French king for assistance and protection for the young queen; who returning a favourable answer, she was shortly after betrothed to the dauphin, and the English thereby effectually disappointed.

The Scots having, in 1548, obtained 6000 troops from France, were now resolved to annoy the English, though the duke of Somerset had offered them a ten years truce on very moderate terms. They accordingly endeavoured to dispossess them of the garrisons they had in Scotland; but they were unable to reduce Haddington, the siege of which place they carried on so bunglingly, that the assailants were often knocked down by women, with plummets fixed to strings, which they held in their hands. On this occasion, D'Esse the French general grew so unpopular, that he desired to be recalled; and monsieur Des Termes was nominated in his stead, who bringing with him considerable supplies of money, men, and ammunition, on landing in Scotland, and being joined by his country, found himself at the head of no despicable army. He laid close siege to Haddington, which capitulated; and next reduced Broughty-castle.

Skirmishes and trifling sieges continued on both sides, till 1550, when the queen-dowager made a visit to her daughter in France; the chief intent
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of which was, to obtain the regency, by means of the French king; which the weak and flexible Arran was easily prevailed on to abdicate upon several liberal promises made him, and the offer of a public ratification of his conduct.

When the queen-dowager returned to Scotland, in 1554, she took possession of the government, and soon testified the sense, prudence, and resolution, of which she was mistress, by taking a progress, in person, into the northern parts of the kingdom. The natives there, in consequence of the factions at court, had recovered all their natural contempt of law and equity; but the queen, adopted such wise measures, that without much blood-shed, they were reduced to a state of subjection; and reviving a former law, she left every chieftain answerable for the good behaviour of his dependents. She behaved with so much discretion, by seeming to disregard all religious disputes, that, though a Catholic herself, she gave no offence to either party.

From an attachment to the French interest, the queen had raised many of that nation to offices of trust and dignity; and had so far forgotten herself, as to propose a small, but a fixed tax on land, expressly to maintain a body of regular troops for the French service. About 300 of the lesser barons waited on the queen, and remonstrated so sensibly and boldly against the tax, which they considered as a direct innovation upon their rights and privileges, that the queen very prudently abandoned it when she saw her error, and knew the determined resolution of the Scots.

The French were exceedingly solicitous of promoting a war with England. But as the English crown had now devolved on Mary, a princess whose only ambition was to fight for the church
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of Rome, and whose great delight was, from a blood-thirsty zeal, to butcher the best of her own subjects;—the Scots having received no injury, were determined to offer none; and therefore flatly refused so far to humour the French, as to provoke a people, with whom they declared, that, “while they had no sinister views on their independence, they were disposed to live in peace.” This conduct hurt the French; and shewed to the regent, who had proposed the war, the bounds of her authority. However, she hastened to conclude her daughter’s marriage with the dauphin, which she imagined would necessarily enlarge it.

The conclusion of this affair being equally desired by the king of France, eight persons were immediately ordered to be present at the ceremony, as representatives of the whole Scots nation. They were, the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Ross and Orkney, the earls of Cassils and Rothes, lord Fleming, lord Seaton, the prior of St. Andrew’s, and John Erskine of Dun. And as some of the persons, who were thus highly honoured, were zealous advocates for the Reformation, it may serve to shew that the Protestant interest had gained very considerable influence by this time.

The French betrayed a spirit of deep deceit and artifice respecting the marriage treaty, which is as much characteristical of that people, as plain dealing and honour is of Britons. For though the right of succession, in default of issue, was secured to the house of Hamilton, and ratified in the most solemn manner by the king of France, the young queen, and the dauphin; yet Mary, whose youth and inexperience can alone excuse her,

her, had previously been persuaded to subscribe three deeds, whereby in failure of an heir, she had, by free gift, assigned over her kingdom to the crown of France, declaring every other future promise or deed to be void and of no effect. Under this delusion, the marriage was celebrated, on the 24th of April 1558, with great pomp and splendour; and the Scots deputies were treated with the utmost elegance. After a proper stay in France, having executed their commission, they thought of returning home; but they had scarcely taken leave of the court for that purpose, when four out of the eight, viz. the bishop of Orkney, the earl of Rothes, the earl of Cassils, and lord Fleming, suddenly died, which some attributed to poison, though perhaps without foundation.

The Reformation, meeting with no check, made an astonishing progress: half the kingdom had by this time renounced Popery. And as many persons of rank and fortune had avowed themselves to be Protestants, they now began to make demands, which obliged Mary to lay aside the mask. They moved, that the established religion, throughout the whole kingdom, should be that which they professed.

Elizabeth, who in 1559 swayed the British sceptre, had completed such an establishment: and this consideration, in all probability, encouraged the Scots to be resolute in their demand. But the reformers little knew what cruel orders had been transmitted from France, when the utter extinction of Protestants were decreed by fire and sword; and the earl of Argyle, the prior of St. Andrew's, and other leaders of the party, were devoted to immediate destruction. But the regent was too politic and moderate to
execute

execute such desperate commands. On the contrary, though the Popish clergy made a great clamour, as foreseeing the downfall of their pride and luxury, Mary allowed to the Protestants the free and public exercise of their religion. But as she had been heard to declare, "That the performance of promises was no further to be urged to princes, than was consistent with their own conveniency;" they were desirous to secure themselves by a parliamentary sanction. But she treated this application with contempt, and threatened the abridgement of former privileges. The famous John Knox, and other preachers, animated their adherents in Perth with the most enlarged sentiments of religious liberty. Returning from one of Knox's sermons, fired with violent zeal, a priest imprudently prepared to celebrate mass as they passed. They could no longer restrain their resentment; but with the most outrageous fury, unanimously fell upon the churches and monasteries in that city, and after destroying every image and picture therein, they almost levelled them with the ground. This riot, though believed to have been merely accidental, the regent considered it as a determined thing. She instantly levied forces, and began her march to Perth. The Protestants, on this intelligence, swarmed together from all quarters; so that in a few days, though the queen was 7000 strong, they were in a condition to face her. Both parties, however, being little desirous of coming to extremities, concluded a treaty; which, on the part of the queen, was very soon broken. Accordingly, the Protestants assembled afresh, called themselves **THE CONGREGATION**, and again took

took arms. This produced another treaty, which was also soon broken.

The regent being no longer to be trusted, the Protestants assembled in arms once more, and proceeded to action. They were led on by James Stewart prior of St. Andrew's, and Arran the son of the late regent, who had been obliged to fly from France for uttering some very free speeches against Popery. Numbers daily flocking to their standard, they were soon superior to the queen's forces, although lately considerably augmented by the French.

The Protestants saw the ancient inhabitants of Leith driven from their houses, which were now occupied by a standing army of foreigners: therefore, though they primarily insisted on the legal establishment of their religion, they afterwards declared, that if the French forces were not speedily dismissed, they would themselves expel them Scotland, with those who abetted them. As the regent refused to comply with their demands, *the Congregation*, having so great a cause depending, assembled the whole body who were attached to their party, to deliberate on what measures they should adopt. Willox and Knox appeared for the whole order of divines; who in full assembly, having maintained, "That it was lawful for subjects not only to resist tyrannical princes, but to deprive them of their unscriptural authority;" every individual member of the convocation rose up in order, and gave his suffrage for dismissing the queen from her office of regent.

The Congregation hereupon was joined by the late regent himself, who by way of *douceur*
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for his resignation of that post, had, by the French king, been created duke of Chatelherault. He was shortly afterwards followed by Maitland, the queen's chief secretary, a statesman of the most consummate abilities, who secretly had long favoured the Reformation. This great man soon discovered to the lords of the *Congregation*, that, without a miracle, it would be impossible for them to accomplish their purposes. He advised, therefore, not to hazard an engagement with their undisciplined, though numerous troops, against such forces as the French, which, by the martial reigns of Francis I. and Henry II. had become veterans in the art of war. But he proposed that they should ask assistance from the English, with whom, it is imagined, both he and Knox had long maintained a private correspondence. The *Congregation* soon after took possession of Edinburgh; but here, being still urged not to risk a battle, through want of money, and other less essential causes, they were reduced to the greatest distress. In this situation, Maitland renewed his proposal, informing them, that if they thought the cause, in which they now suffered, was sufficiently desperate and momentous to demand it, they might depend on aid from England.

They having at length complied, Cockburn of Orminster was immediately ordered to repair to Berwick, where Sir James Crofts and Sir Ralph Sadler commanded, who had already received direction to supply the present exigency of the Protestants, by the payment of 4000 crowns. But Cockburn's party, in returning with the money, was intercepted and stripped of the supply by the earl of Bothwell, who at that time was

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the only nobleman of note in the queen's interest.

Notwithstanding this accident, the Scots were kept from desponding by the continual harangues of Knox and his brethren. But the count de Martigues arriving, in 1560, from France with 1000 foot and some cavalry, the whole force of their eloquence was necessary, in order to hinder the Congregation from dispersing. On this occasion, the diligent prior of St. Andrew's assembled 600 horse, with which he assailed the French, beat up their quarters, intercepted their provisions, and cut off their straggling parties. The French general advancing along the coast discovered a fleet standing for the Frith of Forth, and supposing it to be a powerful reinforcement, expressed great demonstrations of joy; which were soon damped when they learned, to their utter dejection, that the fleet was from England, for the aid of the Congregation, and that a powerful army would soon follow: they then retreated to Stirling with all haste.

After this timely relief, the Protestants repaired to Berwick, and, through the duke of Norfolk, concluded the following treaty with Elizabeth, 'That no closer union with France should ever
"be suffered; and to prevent the encroachments of
"that power, the queen of England promised to
"employ in Scotland a considerable army, which
"the Scots agreed to second with their forces. No
"place in Scotland was to be put into the hands of
"the English; whatever was taken from the enemy,
"should, at the discretion of the Scots, either be kept
"by themselves or demolished; and if any invasion
"should be made on England, the Scots bound
"themselves to assist Elizabeth with part of their
H forces."

“ forces.” This treaty was ratified, and hostages given to Elizabeth for the due performance of it.

The queen’s army, which consisted of 6000 foot and 2000 horse, arrived in April, and as the troops which had been intended for the assistance of the French, under D’ Elbeuf, had, by a tempest, been dispersed several ways, the regent was unable to keep the field. The French, however, had thrown themselves into Leith, where they were determined to stand a siege: in the height of which, on the 10th of June, died the queen-regent, who was the instrument, rather than the cause, of all these troubles; being in her own nature (according to some) a woman of an excellent disposition and singular abilities. On her death, the French, foreseeing that their party would necessarily dwindle, made overtures of peace; which being hearkened to, it was concluded on the 6th of July. The French agreed to recall their troops from Scotland; the Protestant religion was left to the decision of parliament; an act of oblivion was passed; and the sovereign authority delegated to the lords of the Congregation: after which, the French and English armies quitted Scotland at the same time, and tranquillity was happily restored.

The Scots now applied themselves to the establishing their religion: in this, the ardour of the nobles was little inferior to that of Knox and Willox. A very numerous parliament, therefore, met in August; and, in a few days, overturned Popery, that ancient superstitious system of religion, though it had been established so many centuries. Not one of the Popish party in this parliament had the boldness to attempt a vindication of their doctrines; so that the Protestant religion

religion being voted, without opposition, the reformed teachers were ordered to draw up a confession of faith; which they accordingly did, and it was universally approved of.

The death of Francis II. the husband of Mary, and successor of Henry II. was an event which the Scots supposed would give firmness and stability to their new system, which was formed after the model of the reformed church of Geneva. The following year, abbies and cathedrals, and every monument of Popery, which had escaped the first rage of the reformers, were abolished by act of parliament.

Religious government, in which a people's liberty or slavery must, in a great measure, depend, having been thus happily settled; in 1561, the states of the kingdom appointed the prior of St. Andrew's to wait on the queen, and invite her to take into her own hands the reins of government. Though she had been educated in the Catholic religion, and hence many dreaded her return; yet, upon the whole, the invitation was sincere. On the other hand, Lesley, bishop of Ross, was privately commissioned by the Papists (who were still a considerable body) to advise her, that if, when she came over, she would land at Aberdeen, where the Protestant doctrine had made the least progress, she should be joined by 20,000 men, at the head of whom she might easily re-establish Popery, and overturn the fabric of Presbytery, not yet thoroughly cemented.

Though Lesley obtained the first audience, his embassy was disregarded, while the prior was received with the greatest affection and confidence. She expressed towards her people, sentiments the most tender and equitable; but, accustomed as

she was to the splendour and gaiety of the French court, she could not think of leaving it without regret. Whilst she was preparing for this voyage, those fatal jars with England commenced, which embittered and shortened her days. By the sixth article in the late peace, Mary (who had been persuaded by her father-in-law Henry II. not merely to use, on every occasion, the arms of England, but even to lay claim to the crown) after acknowledging that the crown of England and Ireland did of right belong to Elizabeth, had solemnly promised that she would never hereafter use the titles, or bear the arms of those kingdoms. But as the treaty was never ratified, she still retained her pretensions, as she meant to revive her claim when a favourable opportunity offered.

It is not, however, improbable (as Elizabeth's own subjects could not deny the queen of Scots to be her immediate heir) that matters might have terminated amicably, if Mary, instead of promising to abstain from bearing the title of queen of England "in all times to come," had engaged not to assume that title, "during the life of Elizabeth, or the lives of her lawful posterity."

On the part of Elizabeth, female jealousy had no inconsiderable sway in this affair. Though a great queen, she had, in her disposition, a strong tincture of vanity; was prodigiously fond of dress, uncommonly sollicitous to display her charms, and exceedingly delighted with the incense of flattery. Mary landed safely at Leith, on the 19th of August, after thirteen years absence from her native country; having escaped an English fleet, which, it is thought, lay in wait to intercept her.

The Scots, not expecting her arrival so soon, were under a necessity of escorting her to Holyrood.

rood-house, over a barren country, with very little pomp. However, on her entering Edinburgh, this was amply recompensed by the most unbounded testimonies of joy. But the Sunday following, these expressions of approbation were a little contradicted; for she commanded mass to be celebrated in the chapel of her palace. The populace, notwithstanding the awe with which her presence had inspired them, would on this occasion have proceeded to violence, but for the timely interposition of the prior of St. Andrew's: by his means, the queen and her domestics, then and ever after, were allowed the undisturbed exercise of their religion. This indulgence produced the queen's royal assent to the Reformation; and also a proclamation, that any attempt to alter or subvert it should be deemed felony. The prior and Maitland, persons very much in favour with the people, now became her chief favourites; and none but Protestants were promoted to offices of value or importance.

Mary soon began to experience the cares of government: her favourable regard to the prior of St. Andrew's, was a thorn in the side of the earl of Huntley, who was a bigoted Papist, and had greatly flattered himself with the thoughts of enjoying the queen's entire confidence; he therefore considered the prior as the rival of his power, and, not being able to vent his private revenge on his rival (afterwards created earl of Murray) he madly rushed into open rebellion. The new-made earl instantly undertook to quell the insurrection, which he accordingly effected with a handful of men; and in the engagement, Huntley, who was extremely corpulent, was trampled to

death. It is generally believed, that the crown itself was the object of this ambitious nobleman.

Mary now (in 1563) began to new model her court; and, as far as she was able, France was her pattern. Knox, and the rigid reformers of those days, have represented her as introducing not only luxury, but indecency; though it is probable, that they bestowed these hard names merely on regal state, and the innocent diversion of dancing. Her subjects in general now wished that she would take into her consideration one important concern. As she had been a widow two years, they wished for her marriage, that so the crown might descend in an uninterrupted line from ancient monarchs. Elizabeth warmly recommended to her the espousal of her favourite, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester. But a match with an English subject was no way agreeable to Mary's high spirit. She, however, treated Elizabeth's ministers with great respect; and, giving an evasive answer, proposed, in her turn, to the English queen, a marriage between her and the earl of Arran. On this occasion, the two queens entered into a correspondence, which was carried on till the spring of 1565, with equal politeness and dissimulation. At length Mary declared, that if Elizabeth would publicly acknowledge her right of succession to the English crown, she would honour the earl of Leicester with her person. This declaration, which Elizabeth could by no means brook, put an end to the correspondence.

Henry Stewart, lord Darnly, son of the earl of Lenox, who had been exiled by the regent, duke of Chatelherault, arrived about this time in Scotland. This nobleman was scarcely twenty years

years of age, in stature above the common size, perfectly well shaped, and handsome to effeminacy. Being well versed in such arts as could add ease and elegance to his form, he at once decided an affair which had been the object of many political intrigues. The queen saw him as the only man whom she determined to espouse. On his recovery from a fit of the measles, in which she was his constant attendant, she publicly avowed her regard; and though her choice of him was rather disagreeable to Murray and many of her subjects, and entirely so to Elizabeth, he received her hand on the 29th of July.

As a proof of her affection, she issued out orders that he should be entitled king of Scots, and that all writs of law should run in the joint names of king and queen. This violent stretch of prerogative not a little alarmed her subjects. Murray, being now become the object of the king's hatred, and having received intimation that his life was in danger, summoned his military tenants; but having in vain attempted to rouse the inhabitants of Edinburgh to arms, either in order to revenge the plot formed against him, or to prevent the ill effects of the queen's fondness, he retired with his forces to Dumfries. He sent letters to Mary from thence, full of submission, offering to accommodate matters, and imploring her forgiveness: but the queen rejected his offers, and advanced towards him with 18,000 men. On this he fled into England, and put himself under the protection of Elizabeth, who, as some historians assert, had excited him to take arms merely to distress the queen of Scots, on account of her marriage with Darnly, of which in the strongest terms she had expressed her dis-

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pleasure.

pleasure. Here he not only found an asylum, but a support, though Elizabeth, in order to save appearances with Mary, affected openly to discountenance him.

The prosperity of Mary's affairs had not only rooted her aversion to Murray, but inspired her with sentiments no less prejudicial to the whole Protestant party, than the revival of Popery. This, notwithstanding her former solemn engagements, she certainly had attempted, in a parliament which was to have met on the 12th of March 1566, but for the following unexpected event: The queen's violent passion for Darnly soon began to abate; she found, that, besides his person, he had nothing to recommend him, the little understanding he had was still lessened by self-conceit, rashness, and imprudence: his fondness for amusements, and proneness to many of the vices of youth, together with his impatient temper, led him into scenes of the deepest debauchery; he drank to excess, affronted the queen in public, and brought infection to her bed. Mary resenting his ungrateful behaviour, took little care to hide her disgust. The king, before his marriage, had cultivated an acquaintance with one David Rizio, the son of a musician in Turin. By servility and insinuation this man gained admittance into the queen's family, who retained him for his skill in music, and he soon crept into considerable favour. Darnly therefore imputed the alienation of the queen's affections to this man (who had of late refused to accompany him in his extravagancies) rather than to his own misconduct.

Darnly, suspecting that the queen's intimacy with Rizio had arisen to a criminal correspondence,

ence, imparted the matter to earl Morton, and the lords Lindsay and Ruthven, who proposed the having him tried by parliament, and hanged publicly if guilty ; but the king's revenge was so vehement, that he declared the wretch should be assassinated in the queen's presence, though she was six months advanced in her pregnancy ; protesting that if they refused their assistance, he would stab him with his own hand.

Accordingly on the 9th of March 1566, whilst Rizio and the countess of Argyle were at supper with the queen, Darnly, by a private passage, suddenly entered the apartment. Ruthven and three or four of his trusty accomplices, followed in armour. The queen and her company were terribly alarmed. Rizio, concluding himself to be the intended victim, ran for shelter behind the queen's back, and clung to her clothes ; while Ruthven, with his drawn dagger, commanded him to leave the room. But the queen, still protecting him, he was violently severed from her ; and being pierced with fifty-six wounds, he expired in the adjoining apartment.

The palace was for sometime kept possession of by the conspirators, who carefully guarded the queen, and extorted from her, in the king's presence, a promise of pardon. Murray, in the mean time, returned according to agreement, and was well received, both by the king and queen, but carefully avoided taking part with the assassins. Darnly having publicly protested against any participation in the murder of Rizio ; Morton, and his associates, apprehensive of bad consequences from this base usage, fled precipitately to Newcastle. Mary then returned to Edinburgh, where she employed all the rigour of the law against

the persons who had been any ways concerned in the murder of her favourite. It appears, however, that only two men of inconsiderable rank were executed.

The king, by his proclamations, endeavoured to persuade the public that he was not an accessory in this crime; but the queen knew full well the contrary. Her hatred to him therefore increased; and as he persevered in his lewd and riotous courses, she wisely abridged his power. Thus circumstanced, and disregarded by the nobility, he, for some time, retired to his father's house, where he lived unpitied and neglected, as an outcast from society.

James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, a most bigoted Papist, who had formerly ventured almost singly to oppose the measures of the Congregation, became now a new favourite with Mary. As the queen was bent on the restoration of Popery, having actually written to pope Pius the 5th for a nuncio, and in the meantime allowed great indulgence to priests, Bothwell enjoyed her entire confidence. But he being Murray's implacable enemy, and the queen desiring to be on good terms with that nobleman, she laboured to reconcile them, and at last procured a mutual promise to bury in oblivion all past injuries.

The queen's delivery being now at hand, she fixed her residence at Edinburgh castle, as the place of the greatest security for her person. Here, on the 19th of June, she was delivered of her only son James, who afterwards, by his accession to the throne of England, united two separate kingdoms into what they seemed formed for by nature,
—ONE GREAT MONARCHY. His baptism, at which

which queen Elizabeth, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy, stood sponsors, was celebrated, though after the Romish manner, with uncommon magnificence.

The irksomeness of the king's situation now made him determine to quit Scotland. But as the queen thought that his departure would probably spread their quarrel all over Europe, and that, in such a case, she herself might suffer in the opinion of many, she so artfully managed matters, as to prevent his intended flight: and in the mean time, transmitted from Jedburgh, where she was holding a court of justice, an account of his and her transactions to the king of France.

In a skirmish with the borderers, Bothwell had at this time received a wound, which obliged him to be carried to Hermitage-castle. The queen no sooner heard of this, than she, from various motives, travelled from Jedburgh, eighteen miles over a most rugged road, in order to see him. But finding his indisposition to be slight, she returned to Jedburgh the same day; but the hurry of her spirits, together with the fatigue of her journey, threw her the next morning into a fever; from which, however, her youth and excellent constitution very soon recovered her. Perfectly to re-establish her health, the queen fixed her residence at Craigmillar. The king still remained in a contemptuous solitude at Stirling; from whence, the following year, he removed to Glasgow: here he was seized with a dangerous distemper, the effect, as some say, of poison; nor did the queen once visit him till he was out of danger.

But on a sudden the queen appeared to be reconciled to him. Complaining of the badness of the air where he then was, she prepared a house for his reception at Edinburgh, which had the advantage of an healthful situation. The king, overjoyed at her return of affection for him, and believing it to be sincere, was carried thither in a litter, being still weak. The queen and Bothwell assiduously attended him; and the former slept several nights under his roof. But, considering her former behaviour, and what afterwards ensued, the queen's kindness appeared to be rank artifice; and while the wretched Darnly fondly dreamed of future happiness with his wife, it is the opinion of the most credible writers, that she was plotting his destruction, in concert with the earl of Bothwell.

About eleven at night, on Sunday the 9th of February, the queen left his majesty in order to be present at a masque in the palace. At two next morning, the house in which the king lay, was blown up with gunpowder. The noise and shock, which this sudden explosion occasioned, alarmed the whole city. The inhabitants ran to the place whence it came. The dead body of the king, with that of a servant, who slept in the same room, were found lying in an adjacent garden, without the city wall, without any bruise or mark of violence upon them. Thus fell Henry Stewart, lord Darnly, whose memory, nothing but the manner of his death could have preserved, and rendered lamentable.

Bothwell was generally suspected to be the author of this execrable deed. Lenox, Darnley's father, boldly charged him with it. He was accordingly tried; but by his own great influence, and

and the queen's dexterous management, who still treated the supposed murderer with the greatest familiarity, he was acquitted. This verdict in his favour, was far from being the sense of the nation. The people in general murmured; for only eleven days were allowed to prepare for his trial, besides other suspicious proceedings; but as they only murmured, without raising any commotion, he disregarded them, and hastened to complete his last great project, which was nothing less than a marriage with the queen. To their own discredit, and the dishonour of their country, most of the nobility attested his innocence in writing.

As there remained nothing now but the celebration of the nuptials (the queen's affections having been previously engaged) Mary, to her utter ruin and disgrace, consented to their taking place on the 15th of May 1567.

One step was still wanting to the completion of Bothwell's desires. The young prince had been intrusted to the care of the earl of Mar, a nobleman every way deserving of such a particular confidence. The earl was tampered with to resign his charge; but his integrity was proof against the most flattering promises. Instead of giving up the prince, he, with Argyle, Athol, Mar, Morton, Glencairn, Home, Lindsay, Boyd, and others, entered into a confederacy for the safety of his person, and the abolition of Bothwell's power. Their intention was no sooner made known, than the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and parts adjacent, joined them in arms. The queen and Bothwell, after publishing manifestoes in vindication of their conduct (which were little regarded) retired to Dunbar. They were quickly followed by the confederates, whom Bothwell, in his

his desperate situation, determined to withstand with his disheartened followers; and, on the 15th of July, both armies, in number nearly equal, were ready to engage.

Bothwell's forces were posted on a rising ground, to the greatest advantage; but they were seized, notwithstanding every endeavour to animate them, with such a panic, that the queen, who saw the enemy surrounding them, gave up every thing for lost. And Bothwell himself taking his last leave of her, rode off the field in the utmost dismay. The unhappy queen then surrendered herself to Kirkaldy of Grange, who headed an advanced body of confederates, and was a brave and generous man.

The confederate lords, to whom she was conducted by Kirkaldy, treated her with great respect, but the soldiery insulted her with the utmost insolence and barbarity. She was afterwards led a public spectacle through the streets of Edinburgh, covered with dust and bathed in tears; and then imprisoned in the castle of Lochleven. The reason assigned for this last piece of severity, is, a casket was discovered in Edinburgh castle, which contained a secret correspondence with Bothwell, in the course of which, during Darnly's life-time, she had written love-sonnets to him; and as some of the letters (which some persons believe to be forged) strongly proved that she was equally guilty with Bothwell of the late king's death, having contrived the very manner of it herself. This circumstance occasioned her to be strictly confined.

Being at no pains to conceal her attachment to the wretch who had so dastardly forsaken her, they tendered her also a paper to sign, in which she

she should renounce all share in the government, agree to the coronation of the young king, and to the appointment of the earl of Murray as regent, who was just then returned from France, where he had retired soon after the king's murder. In deep despair she signed this deed, on the 24th of July; James was crowned at Stirling on the 29th; and Murray was prevailed with to accept the regency on the following day.

JAMES VI. the Hundredth and Eighth King.

Most historians have considered Mary as queen of Scotland till her death, as she had declared, that her compliance and resignation were extorted. But every national concern was from this time (1597) transacted in the name of her son.

The disappointed ambition of Bothwell soon led him to fit out a small squadron of ships, and to act as a pirate against his own countrymen. A reward of a thousand crowns being set on his head, Kirkaldy sailed in quest of him, and dispersed his fleet; on which, in the greatest distress, through want of provision, Bothwell attacked a rich ship which belonged to Norway; but the Norwegians coming with armed boats to her assistance, he and his crew were taken prisoners. The latter were all executed, but Bothwell's character being discovered, the wretch was favoured with imprisonment for life; and died in the tenth year of his captivity, unpitied by his countrymen, and unassisted by strangers.

After Mary had been imprisoned near six months, by flattering her keeper's brother, a youth of eighteen, with the hope of even a marriage, she, through his assistance, had the good fortune to accomplish her escape; and travelled post with her

her deliverer to Hamilton, where, in a few days, she found herself at the head of an army of 6000 men.

Her flight affected the regent with the greatest astonishment. He soon received intelligence of her situation, and concluding that she would shortly march towards the capital, he resolved to meet her half way. Having drawn together about 4000 men, he marched to Dunbarton, and posted his troops advantageously on an eminence, called *Langside-Hill*: here, on the 13th of May 1568, Mary's party attacked him with the utmost impetuosity, but with so little judgment, that the regent, having stood the shock of their furious onset, threw them into disorder and routed them. But as the soldiers were conjured to spare their countrymen, few were killed, though many prisoners were taken.

On this bad success, Mary, dreading the thought of falling again into the power of her subjects, determined to throw herself on the protection of Elizabeth. For that end, she fled with surprising celerity to Carlisle; where she arrived, before the regent knew even the route she had taken. Lowther, the deputy-governor of that place, received her with many marks of respect. She instantly wrote a long letter to Elizabeth, strongly representing the ingratitude of her own subjects, and imploring that aid which her present disagreeable situation required, and which the English queen, it seems, had formerly promised.

It having been maturely considered in council, what course Elizabeth should take with Mary in this emergency, she resolved to keep her in England, and at the same time so to manage matters with Mary, that it might seem her own desire,

Accordingly,

Accordingly, lord Scroop and Sir Francis Knolles were dispatched with letters, full of the most kind and condoling expressions: on receipt of these, Mary desired to be escorted to London, in order to obtain a personal interview; but Scroop and Knolles, agreeably to their private instructions, informed her, that their mistress could by no means admit of such a visit, till Mary had cleared herself from having had any concern in her husband's murder. On this cruel rebuff, she offered to submit the proof of her innocence to the cognizance of Elizabeth; and was conducted to Bolton-castle in Yorkshire, in the mean time.

As matters now stood, Elizabeth well knew a public inquiry before her into the conduct of Mary would manifest her own superiority; such a proposal was the very thing which that jealous queen aimed at, and therefore she determined forthwith to bring Mary to trial. In the mean while, by a master-stroke of policy, she required the regent to defend *his* conduct before her at Westminster. As she knew that the regent could not dare to disobey her summons, she likewise expected that he would naturally, for his own sake, accuse Mary of being accessory to the death of her husband; and in that case, she could use such measures as would lay her rival entirely at her mercy. The regent arrived at London in October, accompanied by the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, lord Lindsay, and Piteairne, commendator of Dumfermling, as commissioners in his behalf. To these were added, as assistants, Balnaves of Hall-hill, Macgill of Rankeilor, two able civilians, Maitland the late secretary, and George Buchanan.

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The unhappy queen was treated by Elizabeth with the greatest shew of affection, and had empowered Lesley bishop of Ross, lord Boyd, lord Herries, lord Levingston, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, Sir James Cockburn of Stirling and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, to act in her behalf. Elizabeth appointed Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, Thomas Ratcliff earl of Sussex, the earls of Arundel and Leicester, lord Clinton, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir William Cecil, on her part.

Elizabeth, in the mean time, amused the French and Spanish ambassadors with repeated promises of assisting the Scots queen, as far as might be consistent with her honour; this consideration prevailed on Mary to suffer the ignominy of a public trial. It was first intended to have been conducted at York; but an intrigue between the duke of Norfolk and Mary's commissioners having been discovered, it was on that account removed to Westminster. The cause was opened in November. Mary's deputies having recapitulated the several articles of her imprisonment,—of the extorted deed,—and of the use of her son's name to salve the usurpation of her authority,—the regent and his party were by them denominated traitors. The regent, in vindication of his own conduct, alleged, that the infamy of her marriage with Bothwell, rendered it necessary to take arms in order to dissolve it; and that his other proceedings resulted wholly from the shameful attachment which she still professed for that unworthy nobleman. Nothing concerning the king's murder was hinted at, this being thought sufficient for his defence.

Elizabeth's aim, at all events, was to have Mary accused of her husband's murder. Accordingly,
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at the next meeting of the commissioners, she was accused of it. Mary's commissioners refused to reply to this bold charge, till they should have obtained for their queen, the audience with Elizabeth, which she had requested. But Elizabeth, who had now seen all the letters of Mary to Bothwell, not only refused the interview, but replied to her request in such terms as sufficiently indicated that she believed her guilty; and Mary herself, by not producing proof of her innocence, but proposing to accommodate matters with her subjects without it, not a little strengthened the opinion. Whatever were Elizabeth's real sentiments on this head, she proposed to settle all disputes between the queen and her people in the following manner: "That Mary should make a formal resignation of her crown, ratify the regent's authority, and consent that both herself and her son should reside in England." To this proposal, Mary, now seeing the extent of Elizabeth's friendship and generosity, and considering that such a step would effectually blast her reputation and endanger her person, replied, "Instant death is less terrible than such an ignominy; I will part with life before I will with my own hands give away my crown; no! whatever befalls me, my last words shall be those of a queen of Scotland." On this declaration, the regent was dismissed, in February 1569, without either an approval or a censure of his conduct. The commissioners for Mary followed soon after; and she was removed to Shrewsbury, where the miserable queen was soon afterwards closely confined in prison.

On the regent's return to Scotland, he found a strong faction of Papists united in Mary's favour. However, assured of Elizabeth's protection, he
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took such vigorous measures as soon broke the confederacy. The following year, Elizabeth, who it is said had discovered that Mary had entered into a conspiracy, with a view to set herself on the throne of England, and restore the Popish religion, determined, as she foresaw that to detain her any longer, would only be to occasion continual cabals and insurrections, to resign her into the hands of the regent. But the execution of her design was prevented by the murder of this great man.

The regent had, it seems, deprived one Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh of a part of his estate, in favour of one of his friends, who, besides taking possession, had used his wife so severely, as had deprived her of her senses. For these injuries, though he owed his life on a former occasion to the regent's clemency, Hamilton vowed revenge. Accordingly, on the 23d of January 1570, he posted himself in an old house at Linlithgow, and as the regent passed by, he shot him in the belly, so that he died in the greatest anguish the same night, universally regretted by his countrymen, who long and affectionately remembered him by the appellation of the *Good Regent*. The murderer escaped to France. Elizabeth sunk the dignity of queen in the excess of her sorrow for the loss of Murray. She often stiled him her best friend, and lamented his death as such. On the other hand, Mary imagined that, the regent being dead, her party in Scotland, which before was far from inconsiderable, would now increase; and she flattered herself that it would soon arrive at sufficient power, when joined with her friends on the continent, to demand her liberty: but truth soon convinced her that

that she was born to suffer; and ere long to drink a cup of sorrow, embittered with the most afflicting circumstances.

Soon after the regent's death, Scotland became the seat of anarchy. *King's men* and *queen's men*, were titles of distinction; but the king's party at length prevailed; and at a convention held at Edinburgh, on the 12th of July, they proclaimed the earl of Lenox regent. As this nobleman was a man whom Elizabeth extremely approved, she laboured to confirm his regency, by procuring a coalition of parties: but this was ineffectual; all that she was able to accomplish, was a cessation of hostilities till the 7th of April 1571; during which time a negotiation was set on foot by Elizabeth for Mary's enlargement, which proved abortive through the folly of the Scots commissioners, who would consent to nothing that tended to subvert or impair the king's authority.

No sooner was the truce, procured by the English queen, expired, than party-rage flamed again as fiercely as ever. The queen's men laboured strongly to get possession of the king's person; but they were continually disappointed in their design. At last, they made a bold attempt to surprise the king's party at Stirling: but though the alarm was great, the most considerable loss on the king's side was in the death of Lenox the regent, who was killed after he had surrendered himself.

The office of regent was now filled by the earl of Mar, who, by his moderation, humanity, and disinterested behaviour, for some time silenced the voice of party; and it was expected that a treaty with Elizabeth, favourable for the captive

captive queen, would soon take place ; but Elizabeth had now discovered an affair, which proved extremely injurious to Mary's cause. The duke of Norfolk, the greatest and the best beloved subject then in England, though a professed Protestant, appeared to have joined with the pope and the king of Spain, in order to introduce popery, and dethrone Elizabeth. In due season, he was to have been the leader of the revolt ; and if the scheme succeeded, Mary (privy to every circumstance) was to be proclaimed queen both of England and Scotland, and then, as a reward for this great service, she was to marry him. Elizabeth had twice before discovered him to have been a partizan for Mary ; but his intentions being then of no very criminal nature, she had forgiven him. But Norfolk's third offence, she thought, was of a nature too daring and atrocious to merit a pardon. He was accordingly tried by his peers ; and the charge of treason appearing fully against him, he was executed for the offence.

The following year, 1572, when Mary understood that Elizabeth had entered into a league, offensive and defensive, with Charles IX. of France, and that the very mention of her name was therein omitted ; she began to frame her mind to the rigour of her fate, and to think, as her expression was, of no kingdom but that of Heaven. However this may be, it is very certain, Mary was highly disgusted with the alliance between France and England ; and whilst Elizabeth expected the greatest security from it, the horrid massacre of Protestants perpetrated a few months afterwards, and in which, at Paris alone, where it commenced, 10,000 were butchered,
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rendered the alliance, in her eyes, equally dangerous and disgraceful. All the Protestant powers were greatly alarmed by this fatal event; and many of Mary's party in Scotland, on this occasion, thro' fear for their religion, forsook the queen and adhered to the regent; who steered through the straits of faction with the greatest judgment. Had Providence been pleased to spare the life of this excellent nobleman, he might have destroyed the distinction of parties, and procured advantageous terms for the queen. But before the close of this year, he fell a prey to a lingering disease; and his death, which happened October 29, was followed, November 27, by that of the justly celebrated reformer John Knox, whose memory every true Scots Protestant must necessarily revere.

Morton succeeded the earl of Mar in the regency, on whose accession, the queen's party, foreseeing little success from an opposition, gave up most of the fortified places in their possession, and retired peacefully to their estates; which had been almost exhausted, to little purpose, in the queen's service. The civil wars, which had subsisted five years in Scotland, were therefore now brought to a period; and Mary had not the shadow of sovereignty in any part of the kingdom.

The domestic tranquillity of the kingdom was in some danger of being disturbed by another cause; in 1575. Episcopacy was not wholly set aside: one Andrew Melvil, a man of great learning and sense, having just returned from Geneva to his native country, started a question, in a public assembly, concerning the authority of chapters, and the election and order of Bishops, and declaimed boldly against all church authority not warranted by scripture. This raised a ferment in
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the nation. And though the regent had, for political ends, espoused episcopacy, Melvil acted, and was supported, with so much resolution and firmness, that he was obliged to give into Melvil's scheme of presbytery, and renounce his own.

Morton's regency from this time, grew exceedingly unpopular; and as he delighted in the insolence of office, he created himself every day new enemies. The earl of Lenox soon appeared as his open foe; and during their squabbles for two years, James, the young king, was bandied about from one party to another, according to the success of either. But in 1580, James, being then in the 15th year of his age, escaped from his toils, asserted his authority, and terminated the quarrel. He received Lenox into favour: but detested Morton, who was devoted to destruction. Whilst some plausible pretext was to this end diligently sought after; one captain Stewart accused him of being (as his words were) *act and part* in the murder of lord Darnly. Morton was tried for this offence, found guilty of being a confidant, though not an assistant in the murder, and beheaded for that crime in June 1581; notwithstanding the queen of England made powerful intercession in his behalf. After sentence was executed, the body of this nobleman, who was allowed to possess many virtues, and great abilities, was thrown by common porters into the burial place of criminals: and none of his friends durst attend it, or even discover their affection by the least symptoms of sorrow. Before this nobleman's execution, Stewart, his accuser, had been created earl of Arran; and now the friendship and favour of James was equally shared between him and Lenox. They soon engaged him
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in such unpopular measures, as drew against him a conspiracy of his principal nobility; although their aim was, to bring the young king to a sense of his error, in giving countenance to two such unworthy favourites.

In 1582, the king was seized at Ruthven by the tutor of Glamis. James, finding his liberty not to be procured either by complaints, expostulations, or threats, burst into tears. "No matter, cry on," says Glamis fiercely, "better for children to weep, than bearded men." In other matters, he was treated with great respect, though guarded at the same time with the strictest vigilance. Scots historians call this enterprize, "The Raid of Ruthven." They committed Arran, the most obnoxious to them, instantly to prison; but before they ventured any further, in August 1582, they forced James, by threats, to signify an approbation of his present situation; to forbid, by proclamation, all attempts against the persons concerned in the Raid of Ruthven; and to command Lenox to leave the kingdom before the end of the ensuing month.

The fame of this exploit soon reached the ears of Mary, though in the solitude of a prison. Anxious for the safety of her son, she forgot her own distress; and summoning to her aid all the mother, all the queen, she wrote a letter to Elizabeth, beseeching her to procure the deliverance of her son. But before Elizabeth had any way interposed in the behalf of James, he escaped out of the hands of the conspirators; and attaching himself soon after to Arran, with as much fondness as ever, that artful favourite persuaded him to make the confederates acknowledge they had been guilty of a fault, in detaining him so
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long a prisoner. James, in July 1583, urged them to acknowledge this, promising, at the same time, that, on such a confession, they should receive a pardon: but the nobles were too haughty, and too fearful of Arran's power, to make such a declaration. They fled into England, and were received into the protection of Elizabeth, who interceded so warmly in their favour, that they soon afterwards returned to Scotland, and obtained a full pardon.

Elizabeth having been alarmed by several conspiracies, formed against her life and government, and the unhappy Mary being suspected to be privy to them, the English entered into an association to defend their queen against all enemies, foreign and domestic; and a commission of twenty-four persons was appointed to examine into such offences, exclude the offenders from all right to the crown, and punish them with death. All this was evidently aimed against Mary, who had lately been removed to Tuthbury. In her confinement at this place, she endured the most cutting affliction: here she received a letter from her son, in which he refused to acknowledge her to be queen of Scotland; informed her, that his affairs and her's were entirely separate; and that in the latter he should take no concern. This cruel and ungenerous letter threw her into unspeakable agonies. When she had a little recovered herself, she exclaimed, "Let not my allies treat him
 " any longer as a king; he holds that dignity by
 " my consent; and if a speedy repentance does
 " not appease my just resentment, I will load
 " him with a parent's curse, and surrender my
 " crown, with all my pretensions, to one who
 " will receive them with gratitude, and defend
 " them with vigour." The

The present disposition of James afforded Elizabeth an opportunity to form a league offensive and defensive with him, which was accordingly concluded on the 5th of July 1586. As the foundation of the treaty, both parties bound themselves to defend the Protestant religion.

It was extremely probable, that from these preparations, Elizabeth's council had resolved to put to death the Scots queen, on the very first occasion that offered. The late statute was peculiarly severe against her. The words *by or for*, which had been so carefully inserted therein, was a trap, which it was impossible that Mary could ever avoid; it made her life a forfeiture for any design, which, without her knowledge, might be formed by some zealous or mad-headed partizan: and it was not long ere such a circumstance, through the inconsiderate affection of the English Papists, actually transpired. This is known by the name of *Babington's conspiracy*, in English history.

William and Gilbert Gifford, who were English Papists, had instilled into one Savage, their countryman, that it would be a meritorious act to kill Elizabeth, an excommunicated heretic, as a means of restoring the Catholic religion in England, and by the assistance of the French forces, set Mary on the throne of England. This affair being communicated to Anthony Babington, a gentleman of fortune in Derbyshire, he engaged in a conspiracy with Tetchbourne, Barnwell, Savage, Tilney, Charnock, and Abington, to assassinate the queen; while Ballard, an English priest, concerted measures with Mendoza and lord Paget, to invade England. But Walsingham, Elizabeth's secretary, having learnt the secrets of

the plot from Polly, and Gilbert Gifford, two of the conspirators, and Maud, who was his spy, Ballard, the principal and most active agent, and the rest of the conspirators, were arrested, brought to trial, and all, except Windsor, executed as traitors, being fourteen in all, amongst whom were Naue and Curle, Mary's two secretaries, who, with Babington, confessed on their trial, that they had written to, and received several letters from Mary, on the subject of the plot.

Mary being now considered as the prime cause of the dangers to which Elizabeth was exposed, a commission of forty peers and five judges, was issued to try her; of which, notice was given her by a letter from Elizabeth to her, at Fotheringay-castle, October 11, 1586. The trial came on the 25th of the same month, when sentence was pronounced upon her, chiefly from the evidence of her secretaries, respecting the plot, but it ran in general for having broken the statute of the 26th of Elizabeth, and as being accessory to Babington's conspiracy. This sentence was four days afterwards confirmed by the parliament, but did not derogate from the title of James to the crown of England.

Mary, before the trial, protested her innocence in the most solemn manner; alleging, that not being a subject, she had no right to be tried by the laws of England; objected to Babington's confession, and that of her two secretaries, as having probably been extorted from them by the rack; and affirmed, that the commissioners could prove nothing of the charge against her from her papers. She received the news, that the judges had condemned her to die, with great resolution, and seemed to triumph that religion was the cause of her

her death. She then wrote a long letter to queen Elizabeth, desiring certain favours concerning her death, burial, and servants.

Elizabeth is thought to have acted with great dissimulation in the last scene of this tragedy; for, though it is probable she was desirous of Mary's death, yet she did not consent to the execution of the sentence, till several of her nobility had conjured her on their knees, to consider that Mary's life was incompatible with her safety, and the civil and religious liberties of her kingdom.

On the 7th of February, the unhappy queen was warned of her approaching fate. Several feeble attempts to save her had been made by France, Spain, and her son James; but Mary, who placed no confidence in such intercessions, and knowing the envious disposition of her rival Elizabeth, had prepared herself for death, from the first moment that the parliament had approved the sentence. When she was therefore informed, that she must die the next morning, it is said she heard the cruel mandate without emotion. She protested her ignorance of Babington's conspiracy, while she placed her hand upon a bible which casually lay by her.

After the two earls had withdrawn, her domestics flocked around her, and testified their affection and sorrow by a flood of tears. In the utmost serenity she endeavoured to compose and comfort them. She then fell on her knees, and implored heaven, now that her sufferings were approaching towards a period, that she might receive aid to endure what remained with decency and with fortitude. About eight o'clock in the morning, the messengers of death came, and conducted her

her to the scaffold. After much entreaty she had prevailed on the two earls to allow Sir Andrew Melvil, the master of her household, together with her physician, her surgeon, two men and two maid servants, to attend her and perform their last offices. She mounted the steps of the scaffold with cheerfulness, surveyed the block and the ax unmoved; and having crossed herself, she with great composure sat down in a chair. She listened to the warrant for her execution, which was then read, with such an air, as signified that her thoughts were differently engaged: having been denied a priest, she refused to join in devotion with the dean of Peterborough; but falling on her knees, she repeated a prayer in Latin; after which, raising her voice, she prayed in English for the prosperity of the Catholic church, and her son, and for Elizabeth; then lifting up, and kissing the crucifix, she thus addressed it, "As thy arms, O Christ, were extended upon the cross, so, with the outstretched arms of thy mercy, receive me, and pardon my transgressions." Having finished her devotions, she ordered her women to prepare her for the block. Her gown and doublet being taken off, she embraced all her servants, and smilingly bid them farewell. A linen handkerchief was tied round her eyes; and then Mary, with calm and undaunted fortitude, laid her head on the block, and began to rehearse the 31st psalm; and having repeated the 5th verse, "Into thine hands I commit my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth" (which was the signal given), one executioner held her hands, whilst the other at the second stroke cut off her head; and holding it up, still spouting her blood, the dean

dean cried out, " So perish all queen Elizabeth's " enemies!" The earl of Kent alone answered Amen, as every spectator, except him and the dean, were drowned in tears. Thus fell, in the 46th year of her age and the 18th of her captivity, Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland and of France, pursuant to a sentence, the justice of which must ever be problematical.

Party writers have given her the most opposite characters. Some ascribe to her the possession of all virtues; whilst others impute to her all the vices incident to human nature. She was both imprudent and unfortunate; particularly in her marriage with Darnly. Her attachment to Rizio was beneath the dignity of a queen. However brutally she might have been treated by Darnly, honour, prudence, and justice, called upon her not to countenance his murderers. Few have attempted to palliate the atrocious crime of marrying Bothwell, the very man whom the nation in general suspected of having committed the barbarous deed, and who, on his death-bed, protested that their suspicions were not unjust. For this she deservedly lost the love of her subjects; who deprived her of her crown in a manner which amply shewed that this fatal step, which includes her strong attachment to Popery, was the occasion of it. The legality of the sentence by which she was executed, has been already called in question; but as it seems impossible to exculpate Mary from a privity and concurrence to some of the many plots against Elizabeth, perhaps the policy of government necessarily dictated such a cruel measure. If the case be changed, by supposing Mary's schemes to have taken place, there is little reason to imagine that Elizabeth would not herself have fallen a sacrifice; therefore,

though one would be far from approving such rigorous precaution, the reader, if he finds himself disposed greatly to blame the English queen for her severity, may consider, that self-defence is the first law of nature in every situation.

Mary was tall in her person, her shape elegant, and the air of her countenance unspeakably beautiful. Skilled in every female art and accomplishment which makes beauty irresistible, and being at the same time polite, insinuating, sprightly, and affable, she was not so much an august queen as an agreeable woman. Her body was interred, with royal pomp, in the cathedral church of Peterborough; but when her son James ascended the English throne it was deposited amongst the monarchs of England in Westminster-abbey.

Her only issue by Darnly was king James; and by Bothwell she had a daughter, who was a nun at Notre Dame de Soissons.

The severity of the English towards his mother excited little resentment in the breast of James, who knew his interest too well to quarrel with them on that account; he was persuaded to join with the pope, France, and Spain, to revenge the affront. He blustered a little at first, it is true; but as Elizabeth pretended that Davidson her secretary, whom she had driven from her presence and fined in 10,000*l.* had executed the warrant without her privity, nay contrary to her express order and intention, he admitted this excuse, and appeared perfectly satisfied. And that he really was so, is evident from his entering, in 1588, into a solemn covenant with Elizabeth, for the defence of the Protestant religion against every enemy.

James

James had, previous to this covenant, performed an exploit truly magnificent and royal. He had long observed the mortal, and almost hereditary feuds which subsisted among many of the greatest families in his kingdom; and from his natural love of peace, from his high regard to prerogative, and from anxiety for the welfare of his kingdom, which their violent differences tended not a little to weaken, he exerted a noble effort to reconcile them. The parties at variance met each other by his order at the palace of Holyrood-house; where, at a splendid entertainment he had provided for them, he prevailed with these haughty and adverse chiefs to cease their discord, and mutually promise to observe the most perfect harmony.

Having thus united the strength of the kingdom, James kept his subjects under arms, to hinder the Spaniards from landing in an hostile manner in his dominions; though after their *armada*, which they arrogantly called *invincible*, had been defeated by the English fleet, James, with great humanity, received upwards of 700, who had suffered shipwreck on that dangerous and unknown coast, in returning home round Scotland.

The most terrifying apprehensions of the English being removed by the destruction of the *armada*, Elizabeth, in the warmest manner, thanked James for his steady attachment to her, during that important crisis. And James having now also nothing to fear from Philip (to whose flattering promises he had replied, that he expected no other favour from him than, as Polyphemus promised Ulysses, to be made his last morsel) he made overtures of marriage to the eldest daughter of Frederic the second, king of Denmark: but that princess was afterwards given to the duke of

Brunswick. James, however, who was bent on an alliance with that family, paid his addressee to the second daughter, Anne; and the marriage, notwithstanding the efforts of Elizabeth to prevent it, was accordingly agreed upon and performed by proxy.

James having for some time impatiently waited for the arrival of his bride, fitted out some ships in quest of her; and, arriving at Upsal on the 23d of November, spent several months with his queen at the court of Denmark; and on the 1st of May 1590, arrived safely at Leigh. The people, who during the king's absence had preserved the most orderly behaviour, hailed their sovereign with joyous affection. The solemnity of the queen's coronation was conducted on the 17th of the same month, with great pomp, no bishop being present; the most material parts of the ceremony being performed by Robert Bruce, a Presbyterian minister of great reputation.

For two months, all was mirth and festivity at court. But when the Danish nobles and gentry, who accompanied the queen in her voyage, had taken their leave, instead of the delightful calm which James had fondly but foolishly imagined would ensue, there speedily arose a hurricane of the worst evils which can befall an aristocratical constitution. Through the king's unceasing passion for pomp, pleasures, and sports;—through the instant enforcement of his own hasty resolves, and the indolence in executing the maturer ones of his council;—through the disregard of real crimes, and his unremitting cruelty in punishing the imaginary ones of witchcraft and magic, in
which

which he firmly believed, on account of which some person or other continually suffered;—and through his general credulity, the conceit of his own abilities, and his want of sterling courage:—the clergy became discontented, the nobility were divided, the barons grew poor, and the commons were oppressed. Heavy taxes were levied, and badly applied; and as this was a circumstance particularly exasperating, laws were broken, proclamations disobeyed, disaffection, rapine, and murder, became the consequence of these impolitic measures.

In 1591, amongst the many persons executed by James for supposed necromancy, some had accused Francis Stewart, created by James, earl of Bothwell, of making frequent inquiries concerning the king's fate; while others, having lost their reason by the tortures to which they were put, declared, that, at the instigation of that nobleman, they had raised the storms which had alarmed his majesty, and endangered the life of his queen. Bothwell, on this evidence, was lodged in prison; from thence, by intoxicating his keepers, he soon made his escape; and being of a spirit too turbulent and haughty to brook such an indignity, the suffering of which he attributed to the artifices of his enemy Maitland the chancellor, he formed a design of becoming master both of him and his majesty. In this design, which he attempted to put in execution Dec. 27, he had certainly succeeded, if the citizens of Edinburgh, alarmed at the uproar in the palace, to which, through a private passage, he had gained access by the treachery of some of the king's attendants, had not run speedily to their arms; their timely interposition delivered both James and his chancellor from imminent danger; and the followers of Bothwell being

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routed,

routed, he himself with some difficulty made his escape by favour of the night.

This rash enterprize failing, the bold earl fled precipitately towards the north; and James ordered the earl of Huntley to pursue him and his followers, with all the wrath of vengeance. In such commissions as these, a general officer had the opportunity of gratifying his private revenge; and Huntley, being at personal enmity with the earl of Murray, under pretence of executing a part of his commission, consumed the house, and took away the life of that most accomplished nobleman, heir to regent Murray, whose memory was still affectionately revered by the people; who hereupon rose tumultuously, shook off all respect for men in power, and openly insulted his majesty, on a report (some say not without foundation) being industriously circulated, that this murder was perpetrated with the connivance and even by order of the king, who, it was publicly talked, was jealous of him, because the queen a few days before had said many things in his favour. Though the magistrates prevented their doing any mischief, they threatened James so much, that he thought fit to leave Edinburgh, and retire for some time to Glasgow. But this popular clamour soon subsided: Huntley surrendered himself to justice; but whether James was really an accessory, or whether from the power of the chancellor with whom Huntley was closely connected, he was not so much as tried; and (so fickle are the commonality!) Murray's death, notwithstanding the dangerous appearance but a few days before, passed off unrevenged and unregarded.

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In 1592, the king lost much of his popularity. His toleration of Papists inspired the clergy with a belief that he inclined to Popery. They saw that he too much favoured the Popish faction; therefore thought that this was the time to insist on the repeal of those severe laws, which, in 1584, a venal ministry had enacted, and which were then evidently framed to overturn the constitution, as well as the discipline of their reformed church. To procure these acts of parliament, the inventors had recourse to the most illegal, clandestine, and iniquitous methods. By these means, it was then enacted, "that refusing
"to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the privy-
"council;—pretending an exemption from the
"authority of the civil courts;—attempting to
"diminish the rights and privileges of any of the
"three estates in parliament, were actions which
"amounted to high-treason. The holding assem-
"blies, whether civil or ecclesiastical, without
"the king's permission or appointment; and ut-
"tering either privately or publicly, in sermons
"or in declamations, any false and scandalous
"reports against the king, his ancestors or minis-
"ters, were pronounced, in like manner, to be
"capital crimes."

Since the Reformation, the pulpit and church judicatories had been esteemed sacred; and the clergy had, in the former, used unbounded liberty, and, in the latter, absolute and independent jurisdiction; they therefore considered these statutes as most galling fetters on their privileges, and determined to seize the first opportunity to strike them off; and James, by reason of his unpopularity, and through fear of Bothwell, was under
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a necessity of giving way to his clergy, who pushed their demands with vigour : so that in a very little time all the hated acts respecting their order in 1584, were either totally abolished and rescinded, or explained in such a manner as gave general satisfaction. The same parliament, at the express instance of the clergy, though much against the inclination of the king (whose high notions of prerogative, made him exceedingly averse to any system which was calculated to maintain the liberty of the subject) established in the most ample manner, general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, kirk sessions, in short, every branch of presbyterian church government. Bothwell, who had endeavoured to seize the king at Falkland, was also attainted, together with all his adherents, in this parliament.

A general alarm was at this time spread throughout the kingdom by the following event : Philip of Spain, piqued, but not disheartened at the destruction of his arrogantly-styled invincible armada, had conceived a design (being convinced of Elizabeth's superiority at sea) of invading England, through Scotland ; at the same time to divide the force of the English queen, and to distract her councils, he intended to fit out a squadron which was to make a descent on Cornwall. For this end, his emissaries were making a powerful party amongst the Papists in Scotland. As George Ker, brother to the lord Newbottle, had been easily gained, and was exceedingly busy in Philip's interest, the zeal with which he acted laid him open to suspicion, and he was seized just on the point of his embarking for Spain. His papers being searched, there appeared amongst
them

them several blanks signed by the earls of Angus, Huntley, and Arrol. Ker being put to the torture, confessed that these blanks were for the service of Philip, and that he, together with Crichton and Tyrie, two jesuits, had orders from these noblemen to fill them up with offers of their most faithful services to that monarch; directing him to land his forces either in Galloway or at the mouth of the Clyde; promising that they should there be joined by them and the other Catholics in the kingdom; and that then, having first re-established Popery in Scotland, they would proceed to subdue England. His confession was afterwards confirmed by Barclay of Ladyland, and Sir David Graham of Fintry, whom he had accused as being privy to the whole scheme.

The ministers of Edinburgh were uncommonly alarmed, and particularly active on this discovery. Their great apprehensions, and their zeal for Protestantism, hurried them into actions, which, if not insolent, (as some have called them) were, however, unbecoming. They ventured to prescribe, and almost insisted, that no consideration should induce the king to pardon the authors of so detestable a treason. James, though highly offended at this activity in his clergy, was obliged to temporize, and adopt their plan. He marched in person against the three earls, who, neglecting the summons to surrender themselves, had taken refuge in the Highlands. Having placed garrisons in all their castles, and obliged their vassals, as well as all the barons in the counties through which he passed, to subscribe a bond of loyalty to himself, and of firm adherence to the reformed religion, he left behind him the earls of Athol and Marshall, as his lieutenants,

nants, and returned home. He then tried Graham, who being by his peers found guilty of misprision of treason, was beheaded. But Ker escaped from his confinement; and as the ferment in the nation was now pretty well subsided, James, according to his usual indulgence to Papists, made use of no methods towards bringing him or his employers to justice.

He proceeded, in the mean time, against Bothwell (who was a Protestant, and who had lately appeared within a mile of Edinburgh at the head of 400 horse, but was repulsed by the citizens) with all that rancour, which hatred mingled with fear can inspire into an ungenerous breast. He had retired to the north of England, from whence, at the instance of James, he was ferreted out by Elizabeth, who was nevertheless highly displeased with every step of the king's late conduct. She indeed considered the neglect of James in punishing the Popish lords as a tacit acknowledgment that he approved their designs; and she had joined the wishes of the people in advising him to hang them up as examples of terror for the future. All the rigour, however, which James could be persuaded to exercise towards them, was, to drop all prosecution and inquiry respecting their correspondence with Philip, and to allow them the alternative of either renouncing the errors of Popery, or of quitting the kingdom: but the rebels, with the greatest audacity, refused to perform either, continued openly their treasonable correspondence, and bade him defiance. But James at length drove them out of the kingdom, to wipe off Elizabeth's suspicion.

James, after his arrival at years of maturity, aimed at an excess of refinement, in which, he

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used to say, the great secret of king-craft consisted. Knowing himself to be the undoubted heir to the throne of England, and that the Protestants there would most readily receive him as such; yet as he knew that Spain, and other Popish powers, might, on the decease of Elizabeth, make some plausible pretences also to that crown, he chose not to irritate the whole body of Papists, by punishing severely a few individuals, how much soever they might deserve it, lest, in case of any opposition to his accession to the English throne, they should unite against him; but, on the contrary, that by treating them with lenity beforehand, they would, on such an opposition, unanimously support him. This explanation will serve to unriddle the seeming absurdity and impolicy of the king's former, as well as subsequent conduct, both towards Protestants and Papists.

Bothwell, towards the close of 1595, harraressed in every quarter, and in his distress deserted by his followers, fled for safety first to France, and then to Spain and Italy; where embracing Popery, the future incidents of his life in those kingdoms (for James would never suffer him to return) were distinguished only by the meanest debauchery. Near this period, also, the king lost his chancellor; and as he really loved him and was fond on every occasion to exercise the powers of his pen, he honoured him with an elegy, which is far from a contemptible performance for the age in which it was composed.

James now began to reflect, that as Elizabeth was far advanced in years, should her death happen whilst he was at variance with Angus and the other two Popish lords, who were surrounded
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during their residence abroad by Philip's emissaries, they might join the Spanish king, and, at the same time, make a division amongst his own subjects, in order to prevent his succession; he therefore permitted their wives to occupy their houses, and enjoy the revenues of their estates. As this indulgence inspired them with sentiments of the king's returning favour, they accomplished his wishes by presenting a petition to him, in which they implored his licence to return to the kingdom and reside on their estates; offering to abjure Popery, and give ample security for their future good behaviour. James, who wished to comply with this petition, hastily assembled a convention of the estates; and the petition was granted, as most of the assemblies were devoted to his will.

But James, who had, previous to this, in vain endeavoured to borrow money of Elizabeth, found himself under the necessity to divest himself of his natural sloth, and to apply for some time to business. He was really so poor, that, to raise a supply for his late expeditions against Bothwell, and the Popish lords, he had been forced to pawn his jewels. His exchequer was now at the lowest ebb; and as his excessive love of expensive pleasures, and his many needy dependents, made him unfit to be trusted with even his own money, he seems to have been sensible of it, and to have seen the necessity of committing the care of his finances to some persons of known abilities, worth, and frugality. Eight gentlemen were appointed to this important trust, from their number, denominated *Octavians*. They were invested with such great power, as amounted to the whole executive part of government.

ment. Every lucrative and honourable office fell into their hands, and the courtiers complained that the king himself had now nothing to dispose of. However, money soon flowed apace into the exchequer, as the utmost harmony was observed, the king's taxes and revenues were regularly received, and frugally, as well as regularly, applied.

If the courtiers disliked the Octavians, the clergy, who were in general poor, beheld them with aversion: besides, some of these Octavians were avowed Papists. This circumstance created a great dislike in the clergy against the king: but when they heard that he had recalled the Popish lords, they lost all temper; and while they loudly inveighed against the treason of others, their violent indignation and zeal precipitated themselves into such actions, as, without much injustice, might easily be construed into open rebellion. To all their presbyteries were sent letters, advertising the return of Angus, Huntley, and Errol, and ordering that they should be publicly excommunicated, together with all others who were suspected of favouring Popery. They exhorted them to excite the people to defend the Protestant faith, and their just rights; and they also chose one of the most eminent clergymen, out of every corner of the kingdom, to reside constantly at Edinburgh, and meet every day the ministers of that city, in an assembly which they called *the standing council of the church*.

But what exceeded all bounds was, the intemperate fervor of Black, minister at St. Andrew's. In his sermons he reviled James, cursed his ministers, affirmed that all kings were the offspring of the Devil, who now appeared to rule
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the court, and that the queen of England was an atheist. The king resenting these reiterated insults, summoned Black to appear before his council to answer for his audacious speeches, and for the seditious doctrine which he had promulgated; and commanded the ministers to retire to their respective churches: but he was obeyed in neither; Black, and his brethren declaring, that the king's authority was of less weight than the power and interest of the church. James, by this bold reply, kindled into rage; and observing that he was little better than a cypher in his own kingdom if this were the case, he determined to try the event. The courtiers, who desired nothing better than to see the king and his clergy at variance, employed not a few artifices to aggravate the dispute; in consequence of which, a tumult arose in Edinburgh, on the 17th of December 1596, which exposed the king to no little danger: for whilst he was sitting in the Tolbooth at the court of session, where he had given an haughty answer to a petition which the clergy had very abruptly presented, the rabble without, on the return of the deputies with his majesty's reply, pressed tumultuously into the room in which he sat, and insisted that the petition (enforcing the perpetual banishment of the Popish lords) should be granted. James, alarmed at their bold intrusion and furious manner of salutation, retired in haste, without speaking a word, and shut the gates behind him. On this, all was riot and confusion. One recited the story of the wicked Haman, the rest made the application, and sallying forth, shouted, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" They then

then called aloud for the king, and some of his counsellors by name, that they might be sacrificed to their fury. But the city magistrates found means to quell them, and the rioters were at length dispersed.

However, the king next morning withdrew to Linlithgow; happy in having escaped the rage of an insurrection, which in the end was as fatal to the clergy as it was favourable to the establishment of regal authority. A convention of the estates being called, the barons deemed the late violent transactions to be high treason. And matters ran so high against the citizens of Edinburgh, who with such boisterous imprudence had supported the clergy, that the court-party threatened to lay the city in ashes, and to erect a pillar where it stood, in token of their guilt, and of the king's vengeance. But James was mild; he waved the rigour of the law; and though he stripped the citizens of many of their most valuable privileges, he allowed them to purchase their pardon, by the payment of a considerable sum of money.

The ministers of Edinburgh, in 1597, foreseeing no other hope of safety, had fled to Newcastle. James was determined to humble them; but finding he could not accomplish his end by force, he resolved to try the effect of flattery and promises. This resolution was indeed political, and perhaps the only one by which he could possibly have completed his purpose. James therefore, by proper agents, plied his arts so successfully, that, at two different general assemblies, a majority condemned their own rashness, and that of their brethren, and declared in favour of those measures which were most agreeable

able to the king. The ministers returned to their respective charges; and James, for the remainder of his reign, found means to establish almost an absolute dominion both over them and all ecclesiastical affairs.

This great point being gained, the king soon made large strides towards the introduction of episcopacy. Under pretence of rewarding the clergy for their late dutiful compliance with his will, he proposed that such pastors as he should appoint might be empowered to sit in parliament as representatives for their whole order, with the same freedom and dignity which abbots and bishops had been allowed formerly. But such was the general aversion to the least idea of prelacy, that ease, honour, and profit, had no charms, and the ministers strove as eagerly to shun preferment, as the sons of the church now-a-days endeavour to obtain it. Every discerning man saw through the veil of the king's pretended generosity. Notwithstanding this, James and his ministers acted their parts so artfully, that the weakest of the order, which generally, in every body of people, form a majority, being gained over, clerical seats in parliament were, at a general assembly on the 7th of March 1598, pronounced both lawful and expedient, and James soon procured the sanction and authority of the senate of his kingdom to ratify their resolution.

The Octavians having, during the late squabbles, fallen out among themselves, resigned their places, by which the nation lost the great benefit of a just and regular œconomy. The king therefore being again master of his own exchequer, desired Elizabeth, in 1599, to send him a company of players, which she accordingly com-

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plied with ; and the immortal Shakespeare is said to have been one of the number. The clergy, as it is reasonable to suppose, from their temper and disposition, loudly exclaimed against the king for his conduct in this respect : they censured even Shakespeare's drama as wicked and unedifying, and mentioned all players with the greatest contempt and detestation. But as James thought fit to grant to those whom Elizabeth had sent him his royal licence and protection, the clergy lowered by degrees their strains of invective, and great numbers of persons flocked to the theatre.

Domestic peace being now established in Scotland, the king, sensible of his own happiness, found leisure to write a treatise on the Art of Government. It was entitled *Basilicon Doron*, and addressed to his son prince Henry. And notwithstanding it abounds with an ostentatious shew of pedantic erudition, some are of opinion that few better books for justness of composition, and propriety of sentiment, have been since published on that subject. James maintained an amicable correspondence with Elizabeth, and a political but secret one with her minister Cecil, who, in the course of letters, took care to bespeak the good-will of his future master, on every occasion.

As the adventure of the king's meeting Mr. Ruthven with a pot of money, the several surprising incidents that followed, the king's assassination and escape from earl Gowry's house (though published by his own authority) abounds with so many glaring absurdities surpassing belief, it is thought unnecessary to trouble the reader with the particulars.

James

James was now near the summit of happiness in Scotland; for in March 1603, tidings were brought him that Elizabeth, the great, the deserving queen of a loyal because a loving, and of a powerful because a free people, was in all human probability on the bed of death: nor were their presages groundless, for she expired on the 24th of March 1603; and James the VI. of Scotland, by the name and title of James I. of England, was instantly declared her successor. James was speedily informed of the joyful news, with this pleasing additional circumstance, that the English were, to a man, impatient to hail him as their lawful sovereign. The king received this intelligence with decency and moderation, and began to make preparations for his departure. He committed his children to the care of several noblemen, and directed his queen to follow him in about twenty days. On the Sunday before his departure, he made a long harangue to his people in the high church of St. Giles at Edinburgh; and the people, loth to lose their king, who had lately grown very popular, answered his affectionate speech with tears and lamentations. James, having promised to visit them frequently, left Scotland on the 5th of April. The eagerness with which the English strove to entertain him during his journey to their kingdom, together with the vile adulation of the courtiers and bishops, occasioned an honest plain Scotchman very justly to observe, that, "They would spoil a good king." He tarried four days at Cecil's seat at Theobald's in Hertfordshire, and arrived in London on the fifth, which was the 7th of May.

Ecclesiastical and civil affairs have been necessarily so blended, during this and the preceding reign,

reign, that very little of the former remains unnoticed. Here, however, it may not be improper to give some account of the *Culdees*, who, indeed, according to the strict rules of composition, ought to have been mentioned much earlier. The *Culdees* took their name from two Celtic words which signify a *Black-hood*, and are supposed by many to have been the first regular christian clergy in Scotland. Their great overseers latterly had the title of *episcopi* or bishops, who only performed the public service, while the inferior sort visited the sick, and relieved the needy. Hungus, king of the Picts, under whose reign they are mentioned by two reputable historians, was their great patron; Brudus, the last king of that people, gave them the isle of Lochleven; and the town of Balchristie was presented to them by Malcolm Canmore. They were plundered, and otherwise ill-treated, during the following reigns, until they were restored to their estates and dignity by Alexander I. The Scots antiquaries and historians are agreed, that they were an order who differed, in many respects, from the church of Rome. They were Presbyters, and neither practised auricular confession nor divers other ridiculous ceremonies which Popery afterwards introduced, though they kept Easter according to the Romans, together with Chrisom and Tonsure; but when the Romish persuasion made head in Scotland, many conformed to all its absurdities. Till this time they were in great reputation for learning and piety. By their law, a married man might become a *Culdee*; but that on professing himself as such, he must repudiate his wife, or any other woman with whom he might cohabit. The *Culdees*,

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even when Popery was the established religion in Scotland, had a right to vote for a bishop of St. Andrew's; but their chief bishop, Robert, dying in 1159, and David and his successors neglecting them, their order dwindled by degrees, and became entirely extinct towards the close of the following century.

The first general assembly of the reformed Scots church was held at Edinburgh on the 20th of December 1560, and the second on the 26th of May following. At these meetings a committee was appointed to settle ecclesiastical discipline and policy; the members were John Douglas, rector of St. Andrew's, John Winrame, sub-prior, John Spotswood, John Rowe, and John Knox; but Knox led every debate, and was not to be controlled. At these meetings, and in a book afterwards published, they declared, "That
" ordinary vocation to the ministry consisteth in
" election, examination, and admission;—other
" ceremonies, than the public approbation of
" the people, and declaration of the minister,
" that the person there presented is appointed to
" serve the church, we cannot approve:" so that imposition of hands was excluded, as was, soon afterwards, reading and singing at funerals, lest that practice, they said, should encourage superstition.

Knox had suggested a project for the comfortable maintenance of himself, his brethren, and their posterity, by securing the whole of the Popish ecclesiastical revenues to them and their heirs, and distributing the same by annual deacons. He proposed likewise to found schools from tythes on corn, hay, hemp, lint, fish, flesh, wool, butter, cheese, &c. He greatly urged his scheme,

scheme, and displayed the importance of deacons and elders: but the nobility and men in power, who, during the rage of reformation, had enriched themselves with the spoils of ruined monasteries, abbeys, and priories, were loth to refund; so that, notwithstanding the zeal which they professed for the Protestant faith, and for the abolition of Papacy, the love of money prevailed over every other consideration: Knox's scheme fell to the ground; and they, by their illiberality to it's public professors, ran the risk of nipping the Protestant faith in the bud.

Let us now proceed to view JAMES on the throne of England. His manners, so widely differing from those of Elizabeth, to whose court the English had been so long accustomed, made no very favourable impressions. Elizabeth knew how to be familiar with dignity, and to recover her princely deportment with a good grace. The familiarity of James to his courtiers was ridiculous; the state which he affected was disgustful; and his transitions to each mode of this unbecoming behaviour, were sudden, frequent, and ungraceful. His views, and those of the English were, from the first of his accession, fundamentally different:—James was fixed on stretching the royal prerogative, which had been strongly bounded in Scotland; and the English were intent on contracting it:—from a natural fondness for his native land, he was desirous to introduce Scots laws and customs; the English, from similar motives, determined to keep them out: finally, the former was strongly bent on procuring an union of both nations; the latter on opposing it; nor were even the Scots themselves eager for it.

In order to destroy every idle pique of superiority between the two nations, and thereby to pave the way for the Union, which he had so much at heart, James issued a proclamation before the meeting of a parliament, consequently by virtue of his prerogative, in which he ordered himself every where to be stiled king of GREAT-BRITAIN. This done, he opened his first parliament with a long and elaborate speech, in which, after disclosing the depth of his wisdom and learning, he inconsistently paid the English some compliments on their wise and hearty choice of him for their king, at the same time that he declared the crown which he then wore was his birthright. He further said, "That as
 " in his person the houses of York and Lancaster
 " were united, the flames of civil war could never
 " rekindle." He then boasted of the peace, which he had so long maintained with his neighbours; of the tranquillity which had subsisted between him and his Scots subjects, and particularly of late years with his clergy. In regard to religion, he expressed himself in very general and indefinite terms; and upon the whole his speech was but coldly received: so that he was greatly disappointed in his expectation of applause. However, he dissembled his mortification, and very prudently conferred honours on several of his new subjects, particularly on the Howard family) who had been considerable sufferers on account of his mother) having admitted the lords Thomas and Henry into his privy-council, though the first was suspected, and the last a known Papist.

James founded his parliament the following year, 1604, on the subject of an Union, which

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he was so eager to accomplish. He found the English in general exceedingly averse to it, though the proposal found a powerful advocate in the famous Sir Francis Bacon. It was unanimously agreed, however, when it was again brought upon the carpet three years after, to destroy all hostile distinctions between the two kingdoms; and as all thoughts of a closer connection were at that time abandoned, this was a kind of a federal union.

James now began to heap on his Scots favourites such profusion of bounty, as tended to the destruction of their neglected country. They grew wanton, pliable, and luxurious. Their friends and countrymen flocked to London, in hopes of favour and preferment. A proper spirit for trade and commerce at home, was thus destroyed; and to impoverish their country still more, the nobility pressed grievously their tenants, in order to increase those rents which they constantly lavished away in England. James, though he saw the evil tendency of these proceedings, was, perhaps, both unable and unwilling to restrain them; however, he dispatched into Scotland a very affectionate letter, and appointing the earl of Dunbar to the principal management of affairs there, he recommended unanimity to his subjects in general, and the cultivation of commerce.

James, now considering himself to be firmly established on the throne, encouraged, in 1605, a severe prosecution of Popish priests. This in all likelihood gave rise to the *gunpowder plot*, which was discovered this year, but happily frustrated on the memorable 5th of November, the day before its intended execution. The heads of

this horrid plot were Robert Catesby, who gained to his party Thomas Brey, John Grant, Ambrose Roshwood, John and Christopher Wright, Francis Tresham, Guy Fawkes, Sir Edward Digby, Robert and Thomas Winter, Thomas Bates, and Robert Keyes, who were to restore the Romish religion. The king claimed the merit of the discovery, boasted much of his own great sagacity on the occasion, and transmitted a full account of it into Scotland. But while he blessed God who had given him the foresight to avoid this blow, he was himself levelling a severe stroke against the Scots clergy, by insisting, in his letter to the parliament, that the temporalities of bishops should in Scotland, as they were in England, be annexed to their sees. The clergy in general violently opposed this measure, as wholly repugnant to the rules and orders of the established church. Six Presbyterian ministers, rather than comply with the king's letter, had chosen a prison; and some others who had been ordered up to London by James, to attend him and his prelates, defended their ancient liberties with the utmost intrepidity. Andrew Melvil, and his nephew James, greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion. The latter, who was a man of modesty, learning, piety, and moderation, when he was examined touching his behaviour, nobly declared, "I am a free subject of the kingdom of Scotland, which hath laws and privileges of her own as free as any kingdom in the world, and to which I will stand." He nevertheless preserved the greatest decorum, which, from a natural impatience of temper, was wanting in his uncle, who ridiculed the church of England in a very

very indecent epigram; and, upon his examination, was guilty of personal abuse; for being placed near proud Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, he shook his lawn sleeves, and called them *Romish rags*. For this behaviour he was sent to the Tower, and kept there three years; but his nephew and the rest were dismissed. James, nevertheless, laid aside his project till towards the latter end of his reign, when he found means, by degrees, pretty nearly to effect his purpose. Mean time the six imprisoned ministers were banished into several parts of the kingdom; but Andrew Melvil, through the intercession of the duke of Bouillon, obtained his free discharge, and died of the gout soon afterwards at Sedan.

After this time, no remarkable occurrence happened during ten years. The earl of Dunbar died in 1610, and James elevated one Carr, who had been his page, to the important office of treasurer, formerly enjoyed by that deserving nobleman. This young man was regarded by the king with uncommon affection. He took the pains himself to teach him Latin, created him in a very short space of time viscount Rochester and earl of Somerset, and, together with the duke of York, installed him a knight of the garter. But this minion, who was insolent, artful, wicked, and ungrateful, soon became, in both kingdoms, as obnoxious as favourites who acquire unmerited power, and exercise it without moderation, commonly are and always should be. In 1561; he was undermined by Villiers, a new favourite, and his fall was as sudden as his rise. On this occasion, the post of treasurer was conferred on the earl of Mar; and James determined to visit Scotland, having lately received a large sum of money

from the Dutch for delivering up their cautionary towns.

Before he set out, he transmitted a letter, informing his Scots subjects, that his intention of visiting them proceeded from a "salmon-like instinct," and not from any desire to make the least alteration in the civil or ecclesiastical polity of their kingdom. But the truth of this declaration was owing perhaps to his subjects, who, during his stay amongst them, took care that no material innovation should be made. James seized every occasion to mortify the Presbyterians; and by the publication of his book of Sports, enforcing the observation of what are called Holy-days, and by many other unpopular measures, he not only manifested his utter aversion to the ancient kirk, but his attachment to prelacy and the church of England, of which, by the ecclesiastical constitution of England, he was the head and lord. In short, James left Scotland in 1617 with impressions much to his disadvantage, having, by his example, greatly encouraged Popery, and widened every difference amongst the clergy and laity by his inconsistent conduct.

James lost his queen about two years after his return to England. Her character was that of an artful, intriguing, and unprincipled woman. From this time he fell into great contempt, and was wholly governed by Villiers, whom he had created duke of Buckingham, and by Gondemar the Spanith ambassador. Mean while the French pressed the renewal of the ancient league with Scotland. The Scots privileges were accordingly, in 1623, established throughout France; and in Paris the Scots guard was revived, under the command of the duke of Lenox, and lord Gordon was appointed

appointed his lieutenant. About this time James instituted the order of Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia, an hereditary honour first conferred on those who adventured to settle in that part of North-America, from whence the order was denominated. Sir William Alexander of Menstrie devised the scheme, and undertook that it should be made a colony, provided that, on payment of a certain sum of money to the king, thirty of his countrymen might be entitled to a portion of land there, and the rank of baronets in England. To this James speedily agreed, and it is among the last memorable actions of his life: for having, in 1624, concluded a treaty of marriage between his son Charles the prince of Wales and Henrietta Maria, daughter to Henry IV. of France and Mary of Medicis; he was, in March the following year, attacked by a disease, which some of his physicians deemed to be a tertian ague, and others the gout; and he died on the 27th of that month, 1625, in the 59th year of his age. Some are of opinion, that Buckingham, administering to him possets in the absence of his physicians, and applying plaisters with his own hand, hastened his death.

The character of this monarch has been greatly obscured by the different parties adopted by English historians, who have observed no medium: for whilst one party call him the Solomon of the age, the other will not allow him a grain of sense; and whilst that extols him for his excellent management in preserving peace with all his neighbours for such a series of years, this attributes the blessing to pusillanimity and cowardice. As king of Scotland, in which light he is here to be considered, his behaviour, in many respects, mani-

fessed that he was neither a fool nor a personal
 coward; though he might be so in a political
 sense. His conduct in civil affairs was generally
 uniform and consistent; but in matters respecting
 religion, always the contrary; which renders the
 reality of his own faith extremely dubious. As to
 his personal and domestic character, his appearance
 was very mean, and it was rendered more so by
 the coarseness of his general conversation, which
 he constantly interlarded with that foolish, un-
 manly, and impious habit, swearing, and which,
 when agitated by passion, hurried him too fre-
 quently into the most shocking blasphemy. Not-
 withstanding the vast sums which he lavished on
 his favourites, and his excessive fondness for ease
 and pleasure, to which he would sacrifice the most
 urgent business, he seems to have been by nature
 covetous; for it is said, that he would sooner
 part with an hundred pounds which were not in
 his own possession, than with twenty shillings
 which he had in his pockets. This temper often
 led him to cheat himself, by accepting two or
 three thousand pounds for his privy purse, when
 the parties, with whom he agreed, by bargaining
 in their turn with his financiers, prevented ten
 times that sum from being paid into his treasury.
 But now and then, it is said, when he found him-
 self monstrously duped, he would fly from his
 bargain. It was on this account that one of his
 courtiers called him "The wisest fool in Christen-
 dom." He was so regular in every respect, that
 another used to say "Were he asleep seven years,
 " and then awakened, he would tell where the
 " king had been every day, and what dishes had
 " been served on his table."

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With regard to religion, he is said to believe, that the Protestant and Romish were equally good, provided the pope's despotic power was abolished; and that he had in view the chimerical project of reconciling them both.

CHARLES I. the Hundredth and Ninth King.

Had not one spark of that partiality for his native country, which fired his father James; but he flamed with all his ideas of prerogative and of an hierarchy, subject to his own domination. These things were not unobserved by the Scots; and being but little inclined to love a monarch who seemed so regardless of procuring their affection; and having acquired some just notions of liberty, they had a long time, out of fear of his committing arbitrary actions when personally present, put off, on various pretences, the ceremony of his coronation. The performance of it was, however, at length fixed for the summer of 1633, when the ceremony was accordingly performed with such unusual pomp, that many strangers, enticed by report of the vast and expensive preparations, came over from the continent merely to behold it's magnificence. But whatever sums were disbursed on this occasion, Charles determined they should be made up in and from Scotland. For, the formality of the coronation set aside, the king's principal views in visiting his Scots subjects were to fleece them of money, and through the assistance of bishop Laud, to establish every item of his beloved episcopacy, which had been omitted by his father.

Laud had, for this latter purpose, compiled a book of common prayer to be used in Scotland, which was in many respects more exceptionable

to the Presbyterians than even that made use of in England.

Charles displayed his arbitrary disposition in parliament, as well as in the church. To intimidate the members, and carry every point which he intended, he pulled a list out of his pocket, and said, "I have all your names here, and will know who will do me service, and who will not." Three bills were then brought in by the lords of articles; one to confirm the royal prerogative, another to regulate the habits of clergymen according to the king's pleasure, and a third was the resumption of church-lands and tythes. The first two were tacked together; but when the earl of Rothes proposed that they should be divided, and the members in general were proceeding to a debate, they were told by the king, that to vote was their business, not to argue. They voted; but though the question was actually carried in the negative, Hay, the clerk-register, an infamous tool of arbitrary power, declared it to be in the affirmative: and as it was death for any person to challenge the award, if it were found just, none chose to run that risk, and so the bill passed. Having thus prostituted the sacred name of parliament, Charles conducted all his measures by similar practices: he made Edinburgh a bishopric, and placed therein one Forbes, who was strongly suspected of Popery, and then returned precipitately to London, in order to advance his favourite Laud to the see of Canterbury, which was vacated by the death of Abbot, its former more worthy possessor.

That resentment of Charles's unconstitutional proceedings, which the people of Scotland could with difficulty restrain whilst he was amongst them,

them, manifested itself, soon after his departure, by the most settled and universal discontent. As churchmen were now preferred to the most important civil offices, by the appointment of such an infamous minister as Laud, the Scots saw plainly, that without one great effort they must bear the yoke of church-tyranny, and be plunged of course into the most abject slavery. They were in this frame of mind, when, on the 23d of July 1637, Hanna Dean of Edinburgh prepared publicly to read the liturgy, drawn up by Laud. Scarcely had he uttered a sentence, ere the lower class of people, interrupted the service by execrations, outcries, and the most violent expressions of abhorrence. Hanna, afraid to proceed, shut the book and retired from the desk; Forbes himself then stepped into it, and confiding in the power and importance of his episcopal office, began to harangue. The presence of a man whom they hated, and on such an occasion, put them past all bounds. The prelate was saluted by the women with their joint-stools, bibles, and other missile weapons. The church was filled with the general clamour of "*A pope! a pope! antichrist! Stone him! stone him!*" and the bishop, with much difficulty, escaped with his life from these enthusiasts. The tumults in other churches being nearly the same, a petition by some of the clergy was drawn up, to pray his majesty not to enforce this disagreeable liturgy; which petition, it is but common justice to say, was first signed by Spotswood and Maxwell, and then by the other chief officers of state. Besides this general petition, there were no less than sixty-eight private ones to the same effect.

Such

Such a petulant and indeterminate answer was sent by Charles into Scotland, that the opposition to the liturgy, which at first arose only among the lower class of people, was now universally supported. A national covenant was therefore formed, of the same nature with that which James had drawn up in behalf of Elizabeth on the Spanish invasion, and it was sworn to with the utmost alacrity; all ranks, ages, and sexes, flocking to subscribe their renunciation of Popery, their resolution to maintain, at all hazards, the true religion of the Scots church, and (though conditionally) their firm attachment to the king's person and government.

The king began now to consider his people's petitions, and the consequences; and therefore dispatched the marquis of Hamilton to propose, in his name, that if the covenant were dissolved, the liturgy should be suspended, till the Scots, in a legal way, could receive it. Hamilton was told by these noble asserters of their country's freedom, that before they would break up their covenant, (which some, instead of ink, had actually signed with their blood) they would renounce their baptism. The king no sooner heard of their determined resolution, and their great strength (for they had met Hamilton to the number of 60,000) than he then offered to abolish entirely the disagreeable liturgy, and also the high commission which he had erected, together with every act that, upon fair debate, could be proved oppressive and unconstitutional. Notwithstanding these concessions, which were considered as extorted, and as the Scots were in a condition to make a noble stand, they therefore declared, that nothing could drown their jealousy, or stifle their resentment, but

but the total abolition of episcopacy, and the restoration of their ancient religion as settled by Knox.

Affairs stood thus in 1639, when Charles, piqued to the quick at their obstinacy, urged on by Laud, and supported by every Papist in England, determined to subdue their obstinacy by force of arms. The Scots, apprised of his intentions, and being spirited up and furnished with money by Richlieu, the intriguing minister of Lewis XIV. whom Charles had disgusted, took the necessary measures for their own defence. Having enforced the signing of the covenant, under pain of excommunication; driven all the bishops out of the kingdom, and in fact utterly abolished episcopacy themselves, they chose for their general, Alexander Lesley, an experienced officer, who had served in Sweden with great reputation. Before the king proceeded to hostilities, he, to perplex the Scots, by seeming proofs of his sincerity, revived the old covenant, which had been drawn up by his father, and, signing it himself, his agents quickly dispersed it through Scotland. Some thousands, by this artifice, renounced the new covenant, and came over to his interest; and Old and New Covenant then became the distinctions of each party.

The king, and the principal of his Scots subjects, were now at avowed defiance. He had issued a proclamation, commanding his loyal subjects to meet him in arms at York, and the marquis of Hamilton was ordered to prepare a fleet. The covenanters, apprised of these proceedings, planted garrisons in the most important towns, and proceeded to fortify Leith, the seaport of Edinburgh, with such unanimous resolution,

tion, that not only the nobles and gentry, but even women of every rank, employed their hands and shoulders indiscriminately with common labourers, till they had completed the fortifications.

On the 2d of June the king appeared at Berwick, at the head of a considerable army; while Hamilton and his fleet were hovering in Leith road in a very shattered condition. The main forces of the covenanters were then encamped near Duns. Charles advanced, and a few immaterial skirmishes ensued, in which the English acted against the Scots with visible backwardness, and furnished them, as it has been reported, with intelligence of every individual proceeding in the royal camp. At length the covenanters advanced with the whole body of their troops: but before they proceeded to unsheath the sword, and issue out all the horrors of a civil war, it was agreed to dispatch the earl of Dumferling to his majesty with an humble petition, supplicating his majesty to appoint worthy and proper persons, affected to the true religion and common peace, to make known his majesty's pleasure, remove grievances, and bring matters to a speedy and happy accommodation.

The favourable reception their dutiful petition met with by most of the leading men in the royal army, induced Charles to appoint proper commissioners, to treat on the proposed pacification. These were the earls of Arundel, Essex, Holland, Salisbury, Berkshire, and the secretary Cook. And those deputed by the covenanters, were the earls of Rothes and Dumferling, lord Loudon, Sir William Douglas, Mr. Alexander Henderson, moderator of a general assembly

assembly which the covenanters had established at Glasgow, and Mr. Archibald Johnstone, it's clerk. The tent of the earl of Arundel, general of the king's troops, was the place of assignation. Hither the Scots commissioners repaired with a safe-conduct under the king's own hand. Whilst Arundel was opening the conference in a set speech, the whole committee were put into the utmost consternation, by the abrupt entrance of the king himself, saying, as he approached, that understanding the Scots gave out they could not be heard, he had come to hear them in person. Notwithstanding this unmanly intrusion, which the assembly rightly supposed was on purpose to over-awe their debates, lord Loudon, a young nobleman full of zeal, and warm from the university, began a speech; but he was instantly interrupted by the king, with "Sir, I will not admit of any of your excuses for your past actions; but if you come to sue for grace, set down your desires particularly in writing, and you shall receive your answer." This, though thus arbitrarily imposed, was complied with, and a treaty of pacification was at length concluded on, to the following effect, That the king withdraw his fleet and army; that the Scots dismiss their forces; that the king's forts be given up to him; no meetings allowed unwarranted by parliament, and that all disputes should be immediately settled by an assembly.

This pacification, thus patched up, and couched in such general terms, was agreeable only to the servile commissioners who had made it. Neither the express abolition of episcopacy, nor one syllable concerning the Glasgow assembly, had ever been directly mentioned, and therefore the people

people easily saw, that the king would in parliament, with his authority over the Scots, resume his former carriage towards them, and find means to interpret the vague terms contrary to their intention, and highly to their disadvantage. Their suspicions proved but too just. It was soon discovered that he had made use of mental reservation; and previous to the meeting of parliament, on the 20th of August, he employed every species of the meanest duplicity. Pretending that he had committed a manifest solecism in politics, by treating with his own subjects, he prorogued the parliament; and leaving matters in the most anxious uncertainty, he returned to London, appointing the earl of Traquair his high commissioner, which post had been refused by the marquis of Hamilton.

The Scots had, since the pacification in 1640, dissolved the form of an army; but disbanded the soldiery with so much precaution, that, still keeping the officers in pay, they could be collected into a body on the shortest notice. Observing the king's disposition and designs, and having intelligence of what was going forward at the English court, they assembled themselves in parliament on the 11th of June, and there discovered that order, judgment, and moderation, and displayed such talents, in settling their civil and religious liberties, which proved them to be glorious promoters of the cause of freedom, and must reflect for ever the most brilliant lustre on every individual then present. They abolished the lords of articles, and the power of churchmen as legislators; confirmed the former determination against episcopacy; and devised many other acts highly worthy of a people who were determined

not

not to be frightened out of their liberties, by menaces, or the loud sounds of episcopal authority, and royal prerogative. These patriotic acts were sent up to London, under the care of the earls of Dumferling and Loudon, to be presented to the king for his royal assent; which assent was refused, under pretence that they came unauthenticated by his commissioner Traquaire.

These spirited acts, together with a letter written to the king of France, and signed before the pacification, by the principal Scotch nobility, but never sent, furnished Charles with a faint pretext, but full resolution, to invade Scotland once more, and listen to no proposals of peace with them, unless they admitted his will as their supreme law. But instantly, on the least hint of his design, the Scotch forces were reunited, and receiving a large supply of money from the exaction of the tenth penny throughout the land, and from Richlieu the French minister (whose assistance Charles had refused); being also spirited up by Montrose, they took the resolution, by first invading England, to prevent the king from obtaining the advantage of naval, as well as land forces.

An army of 25,000 men, under the command of Lesley, soon appeared on the English borders, attended by committees of the states, without whose concurrence no step of the least importance was to be taken, and surrounded by pedlars, who procured them the most minute intelligence. Having defeated a small body of troops under the command of lord Conway, who was sent to reconnoitre, they took possession of Newcastle, and there published a manifesto, setting forth their grievances, and appealed to the leaguers in
France

France in justification of their own conduct. They protested that their invasion was purely defensive; but at the same time declared, that with their sword in one hand, and their covenant in the other, they were ready to penetrate into the bowels of England.

Mean while, the king had formally denounced them traitors, and at the head of 20,000 men, which he had raised with great difficulty, was advanced as far as Northallerton; but unwilling to risk his three crowns on the event of a single battle, he returned to York, and revived an antiquated custom, which had never been practised since the time of Edward IV. he there, by writ under the great seal, summoned a council of all the peers: Wentworth, earl of Strafford, an arbitrary vindictive nobleman and the king's favourite, was for war; the marquis of Hamilton, a favourite also, and every other member except Strafford, warned Charles against driving the Scots to desperation, and earnestly begged him to give ear to, and redress their grievances, which only could produce that peace which they thought it his majesty's interest to preserve. The king at length signified his intention of listening to the grievances complained of, which were expressed in the following terms.

“ I. That his majesty would be graciously pleased to command, that the last acts of parliament may be published in his highness's name, as our sovereign lord, with the estates of parliament convened by his majesty's authority.

“ II. That the castle of Edinburgh, and other strengths of the kingdom of Scotland, may, according to the first foundation, be furnished and used for our defence and security.

“ III. That

“ III. That our countrymen in his majesty’s dominions of England and Ireland, may be freed from censure for subscribing the covenant, and be no more pressed with oaths and subscriptions, unwarrantable by your laws, and contrary to the national oath and covenant approved by his majesty.

“ IV. That the common incendiaries, which have been the authors of this combination, may receive their just censure.

“ V. That all our ships and goods, with all damages, may be restored, and made good.

“ VI. That the wrongs, losses, and charges, which all this time we have sustained, may be repaired.

“ VII. That the declarations made against us as traitors, may be recalled, by the advice and council of the state of England convened in parliament; and that his majesty may be pleased to remove the garrisons from the borders, and any impediments which may stop free trade; and with their advice to condescend to all particulars that may establish a stable and well-grounded peace, for the enjoying of our religion and liberties, against all force, molestation, and undoing, from year to year, or as our adversaries shall take the advantage.”

These demands, which concluded with a kind of apology for having advanced so far into England, were signed by the earls of Rothes, Montrose, Cassils, Dumferling, and several gentlemen of wealth and importance; who likewise wrote a very affectionate and well-timed letter to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, pressing them to continue the Newcastle trade, and assuring them of perfect security; which measure

measure was extremely judicious, and had a very happy effect.

But the arbitrary Charles boiled with resentment at the high demands of the covenanters, though his rage was impotent; for his peers insisted on the appointment of commissioners to treat with the Scots, and on the appointment of such only as might be agreeable to them. They were accordingly the following popular noblemen: the earls of Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Salisbury, Warwick, Bristol, Holland, Berkshire; viscount Mandeville; the lords Wharton, Paget, Brooke, Pawlet, Howard, Saville, and Dunsmore. And to obviate every difficulty, which might arise from the ignorance of Scots laws, the earls of Traquaire, Morton, and Lanerk, were appointed their assistants. Secretary Vane, Sir John Burrough, and Lewis Stewart, were in like manner appointed to aid the Scots commissioners, who were the earl of Dumferling, lord Loudon, Sir Patrick Hepburn, Sir William Douglas, John Smith, Alexander Wedderburn, Alexander Henderson, and Archibald Johnstone. The vast difference in the quality and number of each kingdom's commissioners must strike the reader immediately. The first meeting was held at Rippon on the 2d of October. After many debates, or rather after the most friendly conferences, in which both parties concurred to bound the royal prerogative, curtail the exorbitant power of the clergy, and stop the growth of Popery, a truce was concluded on the 26th day of the same month. A free intercourse was restored, and the sum of 850l. a day, which the Scots had before levied on the inhabitants of Newcastle, and places adjacent, was allowed them during the continuance of their army in England, together with

with the importation of all necessaries for it's use, duty free. But as to the more material parts of the treaty, it being impossible to settle them before the 3d of November, when the English parliament was to meet, the decision was therefore (though much against his majesty's inclination) referred to that meeting in London. In consequence of this adjournment, John earl of Rothes, lord Urquhart, William Drummond of Riccarton, and Hugh Kennedy of Air, were added to the number of the former commissioners; and the army of the covenanters enjoyed the advantage of living in a fine country, at ease, and in the greatest plenty, till their cause was determined; during which time they purchased a good store of arms, and introduced the most excellent discipline. Notwithstanding this, the Scots wished that their affairs had been settled, that they might have returned to their own country, as they were apprehensive that the heavy contributions, whilst they remained in England, might render all in the north of that country their enemies. But the English patriots considered the Scots forces as the greatest aid in completing their designs on Laud and Strafford, who, on the motion of the Scots deputies, were shortly after attainted, and deservedly brought to the block.

In 1641, the Scots army returned into their own country, having been satisfied in all their demands, and in consideration of their losses and necessities, been voted 300,000*l.* by the English, who stiled them their brethren. Charles, who had been taken in hand by his English subjects, determined to repair to the parliament, then sitting in Scotland, though highly mortified that those men should be called brethren by his parliament, whom he had not long before denounced traitors.

traitors. He resolved, on this step, at the instigation of the earl of Montrose, who had now openly espoused his cause, and had, it is said, instilled into him a notion, that, as he had granted them all their demands (though this was in fact done by parliament) the Scots, by his management of them, might be brought to assist him in humbling the parliament of England, with whom he was now at variance. In full assurance therefore of such an unlikely support, he appeared in their parliament on the 17th of August, lord Balmerino being president, and addressed it in a speech which very plainly shewed the fond attachment Charles still preserved for his prerogative, even while he made professions, which, if he ever meant to fulfil, must have destroyed it. He distributed honours even amongst his enemies with a very liberal hand. Several of the principal covenanters were sworn in privy-counsellors; Loudon was made an earl and chancellor of the kingdom. Argyle, Glencairn, Lothian, and Lindsay, were jointly to discharge the office of treasurer. The first was created a marquis, and the last two earls; general Lesley was created earl of Leven, and made keeper of Edinburgh castle; and to Mr. Alexander Henderson, he gave the revenue of the royal chapel, and bestowed church preferments on several other of their popular preachers, whom he attended at divine service, seeming to conform himself entirely to the established church.

But sanguine as the king's hopes might have been of succour from the Scots, some of whom, it is said, were touched with a sense of his distressed condition; both houses of the English parliament, by naming committees to attend the

Scots

Scots parliament, entirely baffled them, and prevented the bad consequences of too good an understanding between Charles and his countrymen.

In the beginning of the following year, the horrid rebellion broke out in Ireland, and hastened the king's departure for England. Parties had run so high, and the Presbyterian interest there became so predominant, that, when Charles arrived at his palace, he was, in a manner, blocked up by the citizens of London, who imagined him to have been privy to the horrid transactions in Ireland. On this, his majesty retired first to Hampton-court, from thence to Windsor, and at last to York, and the reins of authority were now in the hands of the parliament; not, however, before the Scots commissioners had endeavoured to accommodate matters; for which both houses returned them thanks: but as, in their intercession, they had expostulated pretty freely with the king, he rejected their advice with disdain.

A melancholy scene now happened in England: a purple tide, from the veins of patriots and fellow-citizens, over-ran her finest counties. The Scots were not idle spectators of these bloody proceedings: for, by the treaty between them, and the two houses of parliament in England, which was finished in 1643, the Scots agreed to raise an army of 18,000 foot and 3000 horse on English pay; but they were to defray their own expences, nor was a cessation of arms to be concluded without mutual agreement. Thus, in fact, the Scots, by their situation, became the arbiters of England's fate, and

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by prudent management must have been gainers, whatever might have been the issue of the war.

Mean time, the earl of Montrose had renounced the national covenant, and declared for the king; and assembling a considerable party of Highlanders, he strove eagerly in the cause of Charles, in order to make some recompence for what he termed his former disloyalty: but though by his astonishing victory over the covenanters at Kilsyth, in 1645, he reduced Edinburgh, and almost all Scotland to the king's obedience, who had created him his lieutenant-governor, and captain-general in Scotland; he was totally defeated soon after by Lesley at Philiphaugh, and the power of the covenanters was re-established.

The royal cause in England was ruined by the decisive battle at Naseby; and the king, in the utmost distress, betook himself, on the 5th of May 1646, to the Scots army, at that time encamped before Newark. He undoubtedly chose this step, as the least of the two evils; upon the supposition that the Scots were less exasperated against him than the English. Charles was received with the utmost respect; but they watched him so narrowly, that he soon perceived himself to be in reality their prisoner. After the hurry and consternation which had arisen in the Scots army on the king's sudden appearance, was, in some degree, subsided, it was resolved, by the covenanters, to acquaint the English parliament that his majesty had repaired to their camp.

In the mean time, all the officers and men of note laboured earnestly to close the breach between the king and his parliament, to mutual satisfaction; and for that end, the earl Loudon, in particular, urged the king, as the most salutary measure,

measure, to comply with their demands, and assent to the propositions.

This nobleman's speech concludes in the following loyal and pressing terms: " If it please
" God so to incline your royal heart to this advice of your humble and faithful servants, who,
" next to the honour of God, esteem nothing
" more precious than the safety of your person
" and crown, our actions shall quickly make it
" appear to all the world, that we esteem no
" hazard too great for your majesty's safety;
" and that we are willing to sacrifice our lives and
" fortunes for establishing your throne. Now,
" Sir, we prostrate ourselves at your majesty's
" feet, and in the lowest posture of humility, do
" beg that your majesty may in the end grant the
" suit of your most faithful servants, who have
" no private aims, but only the glory of God, and
" the safety of your majesty's person, posterity,
" and crown before our eyes. The granting our
" desires will revive our fainting spirits, refresh
" our sad hearts, which are overwhelmed, and
" like to break with sorrow, and will turn the
" prayers and tears of many thousands of your
" people into praises to God, and make them embrace your majesty with acclamations of joy."

The sense of the Scots in general appears by the unanswerable arguments the earl made use of, and which were delivered in a free but respectful manner: they had, however, no effect upon Charles; who, to the chagrin and disappointment of his friendly advisers, though urged to comply by his queen, and all his friends in France, declared, that he never would agree to the parliament's propositions, because he held them, he said, to be absolutely subversive of that just power, to

which, by the laws of God, and of the land, he was born; and to which, therefore, no persuasions, no intreaties, no arguments, could prevail on him to consent.

The propositions being thus rejected, the English parliament demanded that Charles should be given up; and the Scots, after some immaterial disputes concerning the right to the disposal of his person, prepared accordingly to resign him in form. The commons of England, having also signified that they had no further need of the Scots army, voted, in consideration of it's good service, and for the payment of arrears, four hundred thousand pounds, half to be paid on their resignation of the king, and the remainder in two years; for which they gave no other security than their public faith. At Newcastle, on the 30th day of January 1647, a committee, consisting of the earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, the lord Montague, Sir John Cooke, Sir Walter Erle, Sir John Holland, Sir James Harrington, Mr. Crew, and general Brown, as the parliament's commissioners, received the unhappy monarch from the Scots, and conducted him, under a strong guard, to Holdenby.

From the time that the Scots had given him up, the parliament, and the independent leaders in the army, had alternately made use of the most circumventing arts, in order to gain possession of his person; the latter at last prevailed. Whilst these were thus shuffling and cutting for the unfortunate king; in Scotland, a large party, under the marquis now duke of Hamilton, touched with his sufferings, and melting with pity, essayed, by force, to effect his enlargement. But Hamilton, more unsuccessful in the royal cause than
Montrose

Montrose had been, was not only defeated in his attempt, but taken prisoner, and afterwards beheaded; whilst Oliver Cromwell, who had conquered him, and who now began greatly to distinguish himself, continuing his march towards Scotland, was welcomed, on his arrival at Edinburgh, with many demonstrations of esteem, by a committee of covenanters appointed on the occasion.

Cromwell left Edinburgh at the latter end of the year 1648;—and on the 30th of January following the king saw in death a period to his troubles. He was beheaded in the 49th year of his age, and the 24th of his reign, by order of parliament, and buried at Windsor.

Not to enter into particulars relative to his unhappy fate, his deportment at the scaffold, his sentence, and such traits of his character with which a history of Scotland has little concern; it will suffice to say, that his whole reign, like those of his sons and successors, Charles and James, was but a continued conspiracy against the religious and civil liberties of his people.

CHARLES II. the Hundredth and Tenth King.

The Scots covenanters (to whom the independents of England, who now took the lead in that kingdom, had become extremely obnoxious) determined, how much soever they had proceeded against the father, to acknowledge and proclaim the son. Accordingly, under certain conditions, which he complied with, prince Charles was invited over from the Hague, where he heard the tidings of his father's death, being then in the 18th year of his age. He arrived in Scotland in the summer of 1650, and having solemnly taken

the covenant, was crowned at Scone on the first of January 1651.

The commonwealth of England highly disapproved of these proceedings; in consequence of which, Cromwell marched into Scotland, and, with some difficulty, took possession of Leith and Edinburgh. Charles, mean time, was furnished with a good army, and resolved to command it in person, appointing Lesley, lord Leven's son, his lieutenant-general. He encamped at Torwood, between Edinburgh and Stirling; and the county of Fife supplied him with provisions. But as Cromwell soon cut off that communication, the king was reduced to great straits; being yet unwilling to quit his strong intrenchment to attack Cromwell's veterans, he stole a day's march of that able general, and posted to Worcester, where he expected to be so well received as to be very shortly in a fit condition to proceed to London: but Charles, in this expectation, was too sanguine. Cromwell, who, it is said, wilfully permitted the king to take this step, leaving in Scotland George Monk, to command during his absence, hurried exultingly after Charles, and attacked him in camp at Worcester with such skill and resolution, that the royal forces were totally routed, and their young leader narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. This happened on the 3d of September.

Charles now finding himself to be without support, took great pains to conceal his person, and retire into France. But on the king's defeat, Cromwell repaired to London; and a committee of parliament congratulating him on his success, he made a present to each of them of an horse, and two Scots captives. Now Cromwell's ambition began

to

to expand itself; and whilst he was taking large strides towards the protectorship in England, Monk, his lieutenant-general, was equally successful in curbing the royalists in Scotland. In consequence of which, commissioners were sent from England to govern that kingdom, and they took their residence at Dalkeith. Having procured oaths of fidelity from the principal magistrates and persons in office, they promulged public acts, in the name of the commonwealth of England; one of which was a kind of an act of grace, wherein they promised "The protection of the English parliament to all magistrates and ministers who should live peaceably under their authority; and an indemnity for all acts of violence, during the late commotions, to all merchants, tradesmen, and handicraftsmen, whose estates were not above five hundred pounds sterling; and to all others, who were not soldiers and prisoners, whose estates did not exceed two hundred pounds."

From this time till the death of Cromwell in 1658, there is a very disagreeable chasm in the history of Scotland. On the demise of this great man, Charles, who during the protectorate, had resided chiefly at the French court and at Breda, began to pursue those measures which he conceived might be mostly conducive to recover his crown. He understood that there were many parties in Scotland; and therefore he employed Mr. James Sharp, afterwards the memorable archbishop of St. Andrew's, to effect an union of all to his interest. Charles himself had secured the confidence of Monk by a letter, dated the 21st of July 1659, which he dispatched to him by Sir John Grenville, and of which the following is a copy:

L 4

"S I R,

“ S I R,

“ I cannot think you wish me ill, nor have you reason so to do; and the good I expect from you will bring so great a benefit to your country and to yourself, that I cannot think you will decline my interest. The person who gives or sends this to you, has authority to say much more to you from me: and if you once resolve to take my interest at heart, I will leave the way and manner of declaring it entirely to your judgment, and will comply with the advice you shall give me; the rest I refer to the person that conveys this to you. It is in your power to make me as kind to you as you can desire, and to have me always

Your affectionate friend,

C. R.”

On the receipt of this letter, and after conferring with the bearer, Monk, who was an old trimmer, presently grew zealous in the cause of his royal master. He convened the chief of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who were at Edinburgh, and told them, that he was resolved to march to England in support of the parliament. As the protector, Richard Cromwell, had been deposed, the Scots royalists, who, by Sharp's intrigues, were now pretty numerous, imagined, that this resolution was equivalent to a declared intention of restoring the king: such in fact it was, though in an affair of that consequence, Monk chose to act with the utmost secrecy and circumspection. Sharp, who alone, perhaps, was privy to his real design, though he affected to be ignorant of it, accompanied him to London, from whence he held a regular correspondence with his brethren in Scotland, and not only paved the way for Charles's

Charles's restoration, but for that of episcopacy, and for all the horrid acts of persecution and cruelties, which followed it's establishment.

Mean time, in 1660, the king had published a declaration from Breda, granting a general pardon to such of his subjects, not excepted by parliament, who should embrace it within forty days. This, backed by the address of Sharp with the Scots, and of Monk with the English, met with such success, that he was invited home without any terms, proclaimed at London on the 4th of May, and at Edinburgh on the 14th; and on the 29th he entered the former city, amidst such joyous acclamations, that he satirically asked, "What had become of the people who had kept him so long abroad?"

The Scots, as well as the English Presbyterians, who had been the principal instruments of his return, soon saw the error of their ill-timed generosity. All the solemn engagements, which ten years ago his majesty had made to uphold the covenant, and establish Presbytery, were now entirely disregarded; having secretly embraced Popery while abroad, and conceived an utter aversion to Presbyterians, the king was resolved, that, as in Scotland monarchy was restored, so should prelacy, adopting that absurd maxim of his grandfather, No bishop, no king. Charles, therefore, settled a ministry which consisted of the most violent high-church-men; and the earl of Middleton, because he was the most zealous for the hierarchy, and was of a temper which would stick at nothing to serve his master, was appointed high commissioner in parliament. Middleton, eager to shew his capacity for the office, procured, at one vote, a repeal of every act of the Scots parliament from

1640 to 1648; after which, by a single act, he overthrew the established government of the kingdom, destroyed the national covenant (the abettors of which were also from henceforth to be accounted traitors) and restored episcopacy. When his most intimate friends insinuated, that slower proceedings might, in the end, prove more secure, he answered, "That the parliament was now at his beck; that he loved to serve his master genteelly, and do his business at one stroke."

The commissioners accordingly pointed out three persons, one of the nobility, one of the gentry, and one of the clergy, who had been the most leading men in the kirk or Presbyterian party, and devoted them to instant destruction. They were the marquis of Argyle, Johnstone of Wariston, and Mr. James Guthrie. The marquis, an amiable man, as he was led to the block, heroically declared, that he could die like a Roman; but he rather chose to suffer as a Christian, which he accordingly did. Guthrie was a strict follower of Knox, of the most rigid principles, and of a temper somewhat singular. The king had formerly honoured him with a visit, at a time when he was ill in his room at Stirling; and whilst his wife hastily rose to hand his majesty a chair, he would not suffer it, saying, "Sit still, sit still, good wife, the king is a young man, and can reach a chair for himself." Though thus deficient in good manners, he was a man of learning, strong natural parts, and great piety, and he met his ignominious fate on the gibbet with a primitive resolution. Johnstone by flight escaped for the present, but suffered with pious resignation and Roman fortitude two years afterwards. These were

were the proceedings in the year 1661, in which, to the great regret of historians, eighty-five hog-heads of Scots records were lost in their conveyance by sea, to Leith from London, where they had been carried by Cromwell.

That covenant which Charles had sworn to maintain being thus abolished, and the very persons slaughtered whom he had solemnly promised to protect; and having, contrary to his plighted faith, introduced episcopacy, he proceeded in 1662 to establish the church of England hierarchy by persecution, than which nothing can be more unreasonable, more inconsistent to humanity, more unjust and impolitic, or more directly opposite to the spirit and precepts of the christian religion. Were conscience controulable by human laws, or amenable to human tribunals, Charles, in this respect, and even the church of Rome, might be excused; but conscience is not to be forced into conviction; all attempts that way can never produce it, and must only add to the number of hypocrites or martyrs. Bent, nevertheless, on this diabolical resolution; and though he knew the Scots' invincible aversion to prelacy, Charles conferred the metropolitan see of St. Andrew's on Sharp, as well in reward of his past services, as that he rightly judged him to be a fit prime agent for that bloody business. The other sees were alike filled by men who were agreeable to the disposition of Charles, and fatal proofs soon appeared, that the government of Scotland was become truly episcopal. Deprived of a comfortable subsistence, and driven from their peaceful abodes, the Presbyterian ministers, in 1663, preached undauntedly in the fields, and on the hills, to hearers who flocked to them incessantly;

santly ; which they boldly continued, notwithstanding an act against non-conformity, that, for it's singular severity, was called the *Bishop's Drag-net*. Justices of peace were impowered to commit these conventiclers to prison, without trial or juries ; and any one found guilty of a third offence was ordered to be banished to America. One Sir James Turner was employed by the council, it is said, to act, in this respect, both as an informer and as a prosecutor, though he was besides impowered to be at once the judge and executioner of every law respecting church-government. Being backed by a body of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, a kind of standing army, at the earl of Middleton's command, he performed his commission with the most cruel punctuality and exactness ; levied fines without process, and committed the most wanton injuries without the least provocation. Besides these oppressions in ecclesiastical affairs, it was declared that no person, who refused to sign a renunciation of the solemn league and covenant, should be elected into any kind of office ; but, on the contrary, that every person, who so refused, should, from that time, forfeit his privileges as a freeman and a merchant. Thus the wretched Presbyterians, both clergy and laity, were distressed by every possible method that their enemies could invent.

The commonality, who for the most part were Presbyterians, ascribed the source of these calamities to Sharp. Of this opinion the prelate, who doubtless merited a great part of the suspicion, was well aware : he therefore urged all his great credit at court, to procure in Scotland, *a court of inquisition*, or, as himself was pleased to term it, an High Commission for Church Affairs ;

fairs; and procured it without much difficulty. By this grant, the privy-council was thrown out of any share in ecclesiastical government; and the number of members of his inquisition served in a great measure to wipe off any particular odium which had already been, or might in future be, cast upon himself. From the temper of the man, it is very natural to imagine, that he strove as much as possible to keep the great share which he had in this business, a profound secret. This unlimited court of high commission was authorised "to take cognizance of, and punish
" all offenders, who went about corrupting and
" warping the people from their allegiance, respect, and obedience to the laws, and all who
" expressed their dissatisfaction to his majesty's
" authority, by contravening acts of parliament,
" or council, in relation to church affairs." Its members were the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the lord Montrose, the earls of Argyle, Athol, Eglington, Linlithgow, Hume, Galloway, Annandale, Tweedale, Leven, Murray; the bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Brechin, Argyle, and the Isles; the lords Drumlanerk, Pitligo, Fraser, Cockran, Halkertoun, and Bellenden; the president of the session, the register, the advocate, Sir John Hume justice clerk, Mr. Charles Maitland, the laird of Philorth elder, Sir Andrew Ramsay, Sir William Thomson; the provosts of St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Air, and Dumfries, Sir James Turner, and the dean of guild of Edinburgh. Five of these, including particularly, an archbishop or a bishop, were constituted a quorum; and their commands were to be obeyed by every officer in the kingdom, whether civil or military.
From

From such a motley court of bishops, peers, military officers, and common magistrates, vested with so absolute an authority, the most unaccountable, unjust, and cruel proceedings followed: persecution sallied forth with all her merciless attendants; and the wretched Presbyterians, whilst Papists reclined in security and at ease, were devoted victims to her barbarous power. The sufferings of these men, which are very properly called those of the church of Scotland, for several years, under this detestable commission, in point of severity, equalled, and, allowing for a Protestant country, perhaps exceeded those inflicted by a Spanish inquisition; and must for ever rise in judgment against the infamous contriver of them.

Under such a weight of calamities, we need not wonder, that in 1666 the people in the western and most oppressed part of Scotland grew desperate. They attempted to throw off the general burden; and putting themselves, to the number of 2000, under the command of one Wallace, they seized on Turner, who was then in that part of the kingdom, and were about to put him to death, when reading his instructions, and finding that even that bad man had not acted up to the full rigour of them, they generously spared him. Advancing to Pentland-hills, they were there opposed, on the 28th of November, by general Dalziel, whose superiority of cavalry, in the engagement which immediately ensued, occasioned their total defeat, Wallace, their leader, escaping to Holland. Few were killed, Dalziel's troops taking particular care to make as many as possible prisoners, that they might be reserved for the cool, and therefore more cruel, purposes of a future barbarity.

The

The council, hearing of this defeat, sequestered the estates of all the insurgents into the hands of the lord treasurer. The poor wretches themselves, who were made captive, were crowded into a narrow loathsome dungeon without light or air, where they experienced such misery, as the reader may form some idea of, by recollecting the sufferings of their countrymen not many years ago in the Black Hole at India, which was a similar place of confinement. * Such as survived their imprisonment, were brought to light only to suffer the most inhuman and excruciating torments. The circumstances of which are thus described, and commented on, by an accurate historian: "Their punishment (says he) came under the cognizance of the council; and the common question was agitated, whether by their receiving quarter in the field, it was not understood that their lives should be spared? It passed in the negative. Ten of the most considerable of the prisoners were tried, and hanged with circumstances of severity, if not injustice. Some of the prisoners suffered the inhuman torture called the Boots, which was inflicted by the leg being put into a case, into which wedges were gradually driven by iron hammers; and if the accused did not answer to the interrogatories as his tormentors pleased, the bone of the leg was shattered to pieces, and the substance of it converted into a jelly. Nothing could be drawn from the sufferers, but that oppression and injustice had impelled them to take arms. Commissions were issued through all parts of the west for trying the prisoners; and executions became so frequent, that the hangmen themselves relented, and refused to perform their office; and one of them even presented a long and serious remonstrance in his own vindication.

vindication. Had the rebellion been unprovoked, it must have been inexcusable; but the insurgents were far from being of sanguinary dispositions, as appears from the gentle treatment they gave to Sir James Turner, one of their capital enemies. The precise number of the shocking executions cannot be ascertained; yet they were so frequent as to produce from court, under the hand of Charles himself, an order for stopping them."

Archbishop Sharp was considered as the principal cause of these severities: which, seconded by the archbishop of Glasgow, he not only continued, against the king's express order, but even proposed to hang up every man in the kingdom who would not renounce the covenant and conform to episcopacy. On this report, the principal covenanters fled to Holland; but one Mitchell, who is represented to be a young enthusiastic preacher, resolved to assassinate the author of their distresses. He accordingly, in July 1668, discharged a pistol at Sharp in his coach, who, however, received no harm; and Mitchell, whom nobody offered to stop, walked coolly off to his lodgings, and escaped at that time all suspicion, but two years after he was executed for the attempt.

It is said, Sharp was now, in 1669, under a cloud with even his master Charles, though he soon recovered his favour, and recommenced his severities. In the foregoing year, a militia had been raised, consisting of 20,000 horse and foot, maintained by a tax on land, which, as has since been but too customary, was very unequally assessed. Thus supported, Sharp ventured to fine the magistrates of Edinburgh in 50*l.* sterling for suffering a single conventicle to be held in that city; and he and his brethren were employed day and night in issuing mandates for suppressing conventicles, and for punishing those who frequented them.

In

In 1672, the earl of Lauderdale coming into play, and being vested with great power, some indulgence in religious opinions was granted; but this indulgence proved more in favour of Papists than the Presbyterians. Three years afterwards, on that nobleman's decline, persecutions were again renewed: and in the year 1676, the spirit of witch-burning so prevailed, as reflected no small disgrace on the sense and learning of the prelates.

Sharp, whose fertile genius for every thing wicked was never idle, now devised a scheme which was truly diabolical: he proposed to issue commissions for raising and arming the Highlanders (exclusive of the standing forces and of the militia) and of turning them loose in all parts amongst the covenanters, to riot at discretion. He gained this horrid point; and in February 1678, 6000 Highlanders marched forwards, and were particularly dispersed over Cunningham and Kyle, where, as well as in every other place, through which they passed, or in which they were quartered, they committed as great outrages as if they had been in an enemy's country.

The execution of Mitchell took place about a month previous to this march. He had endured the torture with such fortitude, as acquitted him by the laws of his country: but at length, the generous motive of preventing the torments of others, who were apprehended on suspicion, backed by a promise of life and limb, induced him to confess that he was the person who shot off the pistol. On this representation, the faithless and unrelenting archbishop representing, that if Mitchell were suffered to escape with impunity, he might not only renew his attempt, but excite
others

others to assist him; and as in that case his life must be exposed to every villain, he insisted that Mitchell (notwithstanding his pardon had been entered in the council-book) should be executed, saying, "Let him glorify God in the grass-market," alluding to the place where he was executed.

Mitchell's death, together with the cruelties perpetrated by the Highlanders, were reflected on with horror and detestation, and hastened, in all probability, that circumstance which Mitchell's punishment was intended to prevent: for, in the year following, the archbishop, who, according to Mr. Wodrow, was then inventing new and more violent projects, was way-laid, say some, in a journey to his diocese, by nine persons (some of whom were men of fortune) with a prepared and determined resolution to dispatch him. These were David Hackstoun of Rathillet, John Balfour of Kinloch, George Balfour of Giltoun, James Russel of King's-Kettle, Robert Dingwall, Andrew Guillan, Alexander Henderson, Andrew Henderson, and George Fleming, who met the archbishop and his daughter in a coach, on the 3d of May; and shouting out, "The Lord has delivered him into our hands," they then stopped his horses, cut his traces, and binding his servants, they dragged him from his carriage, after having discharged their carbines at him without doing him any hurt; a circumstance which, according to the humour of the times, was then attributed to magic; believing him to be proof against bullets, they assaulted him with their swords; and, regardless of his cries and entreaties, they executed their purpose in a manner barbarous indeed, but such as might be expected from persons of warm dispositions, when the grand object of their hatred

was

was in their power, and they conceived it meritorious, even in the sight of God, to destroy him. Thus stopped in his bloody career was James Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrew's, between whose character, as well as fate, there is such a striking resemblance with those of cardinal Beaton, that the parallel may easily be drawn by the reader.

The Presbyterians affected in general highly to disapprove this violent proceeding in their nine enthusiastic brethren; yet, as the fact was irrevocably done, they blessed God, and adored his righteous providence, for the general good which they fondly imagined would result from this particular evil. Contrary, however, to their expectations, as it was opposite to justice, the commissioners stigmatized the whole body for this offence of a few, and on them revenged the death of this their chief member, by redoubled severities. As to the actual perpetrators, it does not appear that any of them, excepting Hackstoun, could, notwithstanding the most diligent search, be apprehended. Two years afterwards, this man was taken, and in a summary way condemned. He was so little fearful of death, that when, previous to his execution, his hands, according to his sentence, were amputated, he asked with great composure, if they chose to cut off his feet: he vaulted from the scaffold, and after he was hanged, his heart being cut out, it was observed to palpitate on the knife, as some writers assert.

Those covenanters who still remained in the kingdom, being by the severity of the government harrassed and hunted again into rebellion, were forced once more to try their fortune in the field. Eighty of them, headed by a young preacher, one
Hamilton,

Hamilton, first assembled in arms at Rutherglen, in Clydsdale. These, Graham of Calverhouse, a man who was ever forward to execute sanguinary purposes, was ordered to suppress. But though he attacked them whilst at prayers, Hamilton, whose forces were then augmented to thrice their original number, repulsed that able officer, killed thirty of his men, and had very nearly numbered him amongst forty or fifty whom they took prisoners.

The insurgents took heart, and became more enterprising on this success; and as their number daily increased, they at length possessed themselves of Glasgow: having expelled the established clergy, they sent forth a proclamation, under the name of "The oppressed Protestants, now in arms in Scotland," declaring, that they fought in defence of their religion and liberties, against Popery, prelacy, and the king's supremacy. As they committed but little disorder, they were quietly suffered to assemble, and he joined by their brethren, that the victors might be enriched by the greater number of forfeited estates, as there was sufficient force in the kingdom at any time to crush them.

Such an exaggerated account of their insurrection, and of their force, was in the mean time transmitted to London, that Charles thought it expedient to send his son, the duke of Monmouth, into Scotland, to head his forces. He was ordered not to treat, but to fight, with the dissidents. He speedily arrived at Edinburgh, marched against them at the head of the Scots guards and some regiments of militia, having Dalziel for his lieutenant, and encountered them at Bothwell-bridge. Unable to stand the fire of his artillery,

Hamilton,

Hamilton, who is said to have been deficient both in courage and conduct, fled with several of his followers in great confusion. On which, upwards of twelve hundred, without striking a stroke, surrendered themselves prisoners, and seven hundred were killed in the pursuit. The duke viewed his miserable captives with an eye of compassion: he engaged to procure some mitigation of their sufferings; three hundred were shipped off to America, but died in their passage; and such as promised to live peaceably, notwithstanding they might suffer some rigour under their present government, were dismissed.

This victory was gained on the 22d of June; and Monmouth, having issued proclamations against harbouring such of the dissidents as had been in arms, and who, on his promise of pardon, had not surrendered themselves, on the 6th of July set out for London. Thus terminated this insurrection; and happy was it for the Dissenters, that their conqueror was of a disposition so heroic. He performed his promise to them, by procuring an act from his father, which was not a little in their favour; but coming through the hands of the Scots commissioners, they took care to clog it in such a manner, as almost to mar it's utility. Synods and public assemblies, however, were now permitted; and it is thought, that Monmouth, with a view to popularity, would have interested himself greatly in the dissenting cause. But the generous duke, who was the darling of the English, and greatly esteemed by the Scots, had, soon after his return, incurred his majesty's displeasure. This unhappy circumstance was severely felt in Scotland, whither the duke of York, now reconciled to the king his brother, was sent as his viceroy, towards the close of the year 1679.

The

The character of the duke being every way opposite to that of Monmouth, indulgence hung her head, and under his auspices prosecution triumphed. His highness soon called a parliament, and passed many acts equally unconstitutional, inconsistent, and oppressive. One of these was the noted statute, imposing, on persons in office, a test oath, by which they were to acknowledge the king's supremacy, renounce the covenant, and embrace the doctrine of passive obedience; notwithstanding that, a confession of faith was at the same time ratified, which, in some measure, inculcated maxims of lawful resistance. Few ecclesiastics of sense or decency could digest such an absurd act. Many, consequently, rather than take the oath, resigned their livings. But whilst the creatures of the court, and their tools the bishops, swallowed every absurdity it contained, the earl of Argyle refused to subscribe to it, any further than it was consistent with itself and the Protestant religion. The duke by this was greatly displeased; and as Argyle was a man of power, and a Presbyterian, his ruin, from that time, was resolved on. And accordingly the good earl, in 1681, was proceeded against with such unjust and shameful severity, that merely on this account he was tried for leasing-making and perjury, and being convicted, by a packed jury, he was condemned to die. Being respited, however, till the king's pleasure should be known, and understanding, by such persons whom he had commissioned to intercede with Charles in his behalf, that he was to expect neither justice nor mercy, he seized a lucky opportunity to make his escape, and fled to Holland.

The

The duke, from this time, acted in Scotland with such despotism, as if he were resolved to root up the very constitution. By his order, the solemn league and covenant was, with great formality, committed to the flames. The earl of Aberdeen, who is called the Jefferies of Scotland, was made chancellor; and agreeable to that title he acted with such unrelenting severity against Dissenters, for two years, that during this period, their sufferings alone form the history of the kingdom. Women with child, and with sucking children at their breasts, were imprisoned, and, in their confinement, ill-treated. The house of a father was no shelter for even striplings, who, on the slightest misdemeanor, were transported, as slaves, to Jamaica or America; and this punishment was deemed mild. Indeed it was really so, when compared with the sufferings of others, who being told by some ignorant enthusiastic preachers, that to say "God save the king," was idolatrous, were, to the number of thirty, hanged up for their refusal. Many, unable to bear their hardships, abandoned their native country, and settled in Carolina. Whilst others of a disposition artful and vindictive, being ripe for a revolt, made use of this scheme in order to join their suffering friends in England, who maintained a correspondence with Argyle in Holland. Argyle was to supply them with arms, and the duke of Monmouth was to furnish them with money: but the plot, called Rye-house plot, in which they engaged, miscarried; and Bailie of Jerviswood, a man of integrity and abilities, who managed the Scots part in it, was apprehended and sent prisoner to Scotland. But though nothing capital could be proved against him,

him, it was the duke's pleasure that he should suffer. He was accordingly convicted of treason; and executed immediately after his trial, lest, being almost reduced to the brink of the grave, a natural death should disappoint the duke's vengeance.

We are now come to 1685, when an universal anarchy seemed to reign in Scotland. The common people, deprived of their pastors, who on divers pretexts were either banished, imprisoned, or murdered, were plunged in a sea of troubles: they assembled in many petty societies, published several papers, which at that time were called treasonable, and promulgated the doctrine of Knox. On these proceedings, the blood-hounds of persecution were let loose, and incessantly worried them to death.

This barbarous period will be sufficiently characterised by the following order in council, which was strictly executed: "It being put to
 " the vote in council, whether or not any person,
 " who owns, or does not disown, the late traiter-
 " ous declarations upon oath, whether they have
 " arms or not, should be immediately killed be-
 " fore two witnesses, and the person or persons
 " who are to have instruction from the council
 " for that effect? Carried in the affirmative.
 " The lords of his majesty's privy-council do
 " hereby ordain any person, who owns, or does
 " not disown, the late treasonable declarations
 " upon oath, whether they have arms or not, to
 " be immediately put to death; this being always
 " done in the presence of two witnesses, and the
 " person or persons having commission from the
 " council for that effect."

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the duke's horrid cruelties, he was accompanied, on his return to England, with encomiums from the servile bishops of Scotland, for his mild administration in that kingdom. But Charles well knew that this was all deceit. He seems at this time to have thought that it was his brother's interest rather to tolerate than prosecute the Presbyterians, and that by his severity he had exceeded his commission.

Scotland was governed by lord Perth, in the duke's absence. This nobleman was every day devising for that wretched people a fresh species of torture: he beheld their agonies with visible satisfaction. The duke of York had done the same: but the king now ordered Perth to desist, and his brother to repair back again to Scotland, call a fresh administration, and endeavour, by gentle usage, to make the Dissenters his friends. The duke by no means relished this command, and he would fain have evaded it; but the king peremptorily saying, "Brother, either you must go or I," he began to make preparations for his journey. But before his departure, it was prevented effectually by the king's death, which happened on the 6th of February; a circumstance which to the duke was, no doubt, extremely agreeable.

Charles had reigned over Scotland thirty-four years, and was in the 54th year of his age. A Popish priest, during his illness, administered to him the sacrament: and he expired in the communion of the Romish church.

JAMES VII. the Hundredth and Eleventh King.

This king never took the coronation oath, but received the crown in 1685. Officers were continued in their places, and the government flowed on

in it's wonted channel. Perth, in order to ingratiate himself with his new master, embraced his religion, and he marked his change of faith by fresh punishment of the Dissenters. Women were not exempted from his cruelties: previous to transportation, they were either severely whipped, or branded with hot irons; while others were inhumanly drowned.

The earl of Argyle, for the base usage he had received, was now meditating revenge. Mrs. Smith, a wealthy and zealous widow in Amsterdam, had presented him with ten thousand pounds sterling, to purchase ammunition and arms. His intended invasion being no secret, a proclamation was issued for putting Scotland in a posture of defence. The views of Argyle, in this invasion, are not very clear; but whatever his schemes were, the ill success of his expedition not only rendered them abortive, but deprived him of life. The earl and his followers landed at a place called Tobermore in the isle of Mull; from thence they proceeded to Kintyre, where his estate lay, and there he was joined by Sir Duncan Campbell, at the head of 1200 men. Argyle's whole force did not amount to two thousand; and these split and divided into so many disconnected parties, that no regular plan of operation could be pursued. Rumbold, who commanded one of the regiments, seized the castle of Ardkinglass, where he was soon blocked up. Argyle, with the rest of his forces proceeded into the Lowlands; but being obliged to leave his magazines behind him in the castle of Allengreg, they, to his utter ruin, fell into the hands of the earl of Dumbarton, who was following him at the head of a pretty considerable army. Argyle endeavoured to repair this loss by attempting a march to Glasgow; but being misled by his guides,

guides, he fell in with Dumbarton. On this event, the most part of his followers thought only of providing for their own safety; and dispersing in small bodies, they escaped imperceptibly. The poor earl, thus deserted, quitted his horse, and attempted to make his escape; but was taken prisoner, and conducted to Edinburgh, where, in a very little time, and without undergoing the formality of a second trial, he was beheaded, pursuant to his former sentence; whilst the duke of Monmouth, experiencing the like bad success, shared the same fate in England.

In the following year 1686, Papists were preferred, in both kingdoms, to vacant offices of trust and emolument. James mightily extolled the loyalty of his Romish subjects in Scotland, and desired, in a letter to the states, that they might be allowed all possible indulgence; and, by way of insuring the due performance of his pleasure, in this respect, the earl of Murray, who was a strong one, was appointed high commissioner: but an event soon took place, which was no less disagreeable to the king, than it was, in itself, sudden, unexpected, and extraordinary. At a very full parliament, which met in the summer of this year, the members almost unanimously stood up in support of their religious liberties. The press, which in the former two reigns had been carefully locked up, now regained her liberty, and shortly teemed with the most zealous performances against the indulgence of Papists: whilst others reasoned after the most daring manner in defence of the dispensing power. James might have baffled a few of his subjects, however sensibly and steadily they thwarted him; but he found it was impossible to carry a disagreeable point in favour of the Papists, against an united

parliament; and therefore, in order to procure any degree of ease for his Romish subjects in Scotland, he was obliged to tolerate all modes of religion, by abolishing the test. He performed this matter entirely in the stile of an absolute monarch; for in a proclamation issued on the 5th of July 1687, it was said, that "The king, by his sovereign authority, and prerogative royal, and absolute power, suspends, stops, and disables, all penal and sanguinary laws for non-conformity to the religion established by law." The Presbyterians, believing that the abolition of the test was principally intended for their advantage, were eager to return his majesty an address of thanks: but finding that the Papists gained ground every day, they soon changed their thoughts.

There was public thanksgiving in Scotland towards the beginning of the year 1688, on account of the queen's declared pregnancy. And news came in the summer, that she was brought to bed of a son. On this occasion, the Papists were transported with the most extravagant joy; whilst, from a variety of probable and strong circumstances, the Presbyterians, and the favourers of the prince of Orange, adopted a notion that the birth was altogether spurious. However that circumstance may be, James having by this time rendered himself obnoxious to his Protestant subjects in both kingdoms by his tyranny, and the hasty steps he imprudently took to introduce Popery, an invitation was transmitted to the prince of Orange in Holland, to come over to England with an army, and accept the crown, which had been forfeited by James, through his unconstitutional conduct. The prince accordingly landed in England, where he was joyfully received; and as soon as the important event was known

known in Scotland, that country rang with shouts of approbation. But when this intelligence was succeeded by an account that James had made his pitiful retreat, the joyous Scots ran riot in their expressions of satisfaction; whilst many of the nobility and gentry instantly repaired to London, the populace, eager to express their abhorrence of James, and his Popish ministers, assembled in bodies, patrolled the streets, and every where insulted both Papists and Episcopalians. The earl of Perth, unable to controul their intemperance, and being apprehensive for his own safety, having been compelled, on the prince of Orange's success, to disband the army, resigned the great seal, and retired from Edinburgh; and the bishops, more out of fear for themselves than from any other motive, ran hastily to London, where they chimed in with the tone of the English. The populace, thus left to themselves, grew very riotous. The king's chapel at Holyrood-house, which had been fitted up in the most superb stile, having been intended for a Popish seminary, was despoiled of all its images, ornaments, and rich furniture; and in general every house of note, which belonged to a Papist, shared the same fate. In every street his holiness was burnt in effigy; and *Down with Popery* was the universal cry.

The nobility and gentry, who had, in the mean time, posted to London, were invited to St. James's, where the prince of Orange asked their advice concerning the affairs of Scotland. For mature deliberation, they repaired to Whitehall, and chose the duke of Hamilton their president; and it was resolved, that the prince of Orange should be invited to assume the reins of government in Scotland, and appoint a general meeting of the states on the 14th of March.

The prince received their offers in very obliging terms; and then the members of this council returned to Edinburgh. They found, on their arrival, that the duke of Gordon had possessed himself of the castle of Edinburgh in behalf of king James. They therefore proclaimed him a traitor, and besieged the castle in form; but the duke had the address to manage his affairs in such a manner, that he obtained very favourable terms for himself and the whole garrison, after a siege of three months.

When the Scots parliament met, they proceeded immediately to nominate a committee for settling the government. Eight lords, eight knights, and eight burgeses, were accordingly appointed to manage this great affair. In the course of their proceedings, no man distinguished himself more than Sir John Dalrymple: who, when the throne was declared vacant, proposed the following vote, and it met with the most ready assent: "The estates of the kingdom
" of Scotland find and declare, that king James
" VII. being a professed Papist, did assume the
" royal power, and acted as a king, without ever
" taking the oath required by law; and had, by
" the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this
" kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary despotic power;
" and had governed the same to the subversion of
" the Protestant religion, and violation of the laws
" and liberties of the nation, inverting all ends
" of government, whereby he had *forfeited the*
" *right* of the crown, and the throne was become vacant."

This vote having cut off James and his posterity from any right to the crown of Scotland,

an act directly passed for settling it upon king William and queen Mary. Sir John Dalrymple and Sir James Montgomery, were then deputed to make them a solemn tender of the crown. Those gentlemen were received with great courtesy; and their majesties accordingly took the coronation oath, though not till king William, observing a passage therein which required the extirpation of Papists, and other enemies to the true worship of God, had declared, to his immortal honour, that, being averse to persecution, he took the oath in no sense which might subject himself to promote, encourage, or even countenance it.

WILLIAM II. the Hundredth and Twelfth King.

On the coronation of William & Mary, in 1689, the king proceeded to settle the administration of Scotland; and the parliament which met on the 17th of June, took under consideration, in the first place, the settlement of the church. It was voted, "That prelacy and superiority of any office in the church, above Presbyters, is, and has been, a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclination of the generality of the people ever since the reformation, and therefore it ought to be abolished." Episcopacy in Scotland, was thus finally exploded; though it is said, that the re-establishment of Presbytery was attended, at first, with the most terrible abuses. The old episcopal ministers were not barely deprived of their livings, but are said to have been driven with their wives and children into the fields, where many of them, through a cruel and unjustifiable negligence, perished by cold and hunger.

The affairs of religion being thus settled, the parliament totally abolished that iniquitous com-

mittee called the Lords of Articles; and, in fine, rectified separately every abuse which had been permitted in the two preceding reigns.

Though William was, in 1690, firmly established on the throne of Scotland, yet the viscount of Dundee persisted in the cause of the abdicated James; retiring to the Highlands, he summoned the clans to join him, and entered Lochabar at the head of two thousand men. James had spurred on this nobleman, by the promise of a numerous reinforcement from Ireland, where he then was; instead of which, Dundee only received about three hundred naked recruits. Mean time, general Mackay advanced with William's forces as far as the pass of Killikrankie; and the viscount, notwithstanding his disappointment, determined to attack him; which he did with such vigour, sword in hand, that Mackay's troops gave way, and were totally defeated. But as the victory was purchased with the loss of the viscount himself, who fell by a random shot as he was giving orders about the pursuit, the rebels, upon the loss of their leader, made no proper use of their good fortune, but, as is usual with mercenaries, busied themselves wholly in plunder. Shortly afterwards, however, these Highlanders were headed by Sir Hugh Cameron of Lochiel, who attempted to surprise Inverness; after which he marched to Strathspey in the county of Murray, where he received some ammunition, clothes, and arms, which James, in two frigates, had sent from Dublin, under the care of colonel Buchan, who had orders to command what forces could be raised in his name. But Buchan had scarcely joined Cameron, and put himself at the head of his Highlanders, ere a Dutch colonel of the name of Levingston, with about
three

three thousand men, attacked and defeated him at a place called Cromdell. Levingston having received no orders to make the most of victory, all the Highlanders, excepting about four hundred, who were either killed or taken prisoners, were allowed to retire without pursuit; and though some time afterwards they were promised a pardon by king William, if they would conform to his government, they refused the offer at the instigation of Cameron, who would never treat, he said, with the prince of Orange, as he styled him.

William pitied the mistaken notions of these people, and was exceeding willing to procure their allegiance; which the earl of Breadalbane, in 1694, undertook to effect, provided he were furnished with 15,000 pounds. The earl accordingly received the money, and he intended to have parcelled it out among the heads of the Highland clans; but he soon found that he had engaged for more than it was in his power to perform. Cameron indeed promised to acknowledge the king's authority and live peaceably; but though military execution was denounced against such as would not take the oaths before the close of the year, Macdonald of Glencoe refused to submit. Breadalbane, piqued at the inefficacy of his scheme, and particularly exasperated against Macdonald, who, besides his refusal, had committed some depredations on his estates, represented the obstinacy of this Jacobite in such strong terms, that orders came from king William to punish him and his tenants as by proclamation had been threatened.

A fair opportunity now offering, Breadalbane was resolved not to let it slip, in order to glut his vengeance; and the king, being ignorant of Macdonald's submission, which, by an unlucky
M 5 incident,

incident, was not made till the last day of December, when the time specified in the proclamation was elapsed, captain Campbell of Glenlyen was ordered to march, in 1692, with a body of troops into the valley of Glencoe to inflict the punishment which had been threatened, but under pretence of collecting the land-tax. When they arrived, Macdonald asked whether they were to be greeted as friends or enemies; and Campbell declaring that they came as friends, the old Highlander took him into his own house, where he was treated with the most cordial hospitality. The inhabitants in general threw aside their first suspicions, and loaded their visitors with repeated tokens of friendship, little suspecting that these very men were shortly to butcher them, being charged with strict orders to secure all the passes in the valley, so that none might escape, and that no prisoners should be made, that the execution might be as terrible as possible. Old Macdonald was shot through the head in the arms of his lady, who died delirious the next day. The laird of Auchintrincken, who was then visiting that family, was pistoled without hesitation, though he had taken the oaths three months, and carried about him a protection from the government; and one Drummond, a subaltern officer, clove the skull of a boy not eight years old, whilst imploring his mercy, embracing his knees, and offering to serve him for life. In fine, about forty persons were inhumanly sacrificed, and chiefly in their beds; but the passes not being properly secured, upwards of one hundred and fifty escaped. Before morning, the village, by Campbell's direction, was set on fire; and though the orders which had been given to this wretch did not extend to the death of females and children, yet
being

being driven out naked into the deep snow, which then covered the ground, many died before they could reach any habitable place, which was at least six miles from the valley. This bloody tragedy sullied the character of king William, who screened the actors of it from public resentment; and, in all probability, it sowed the seeds of those two rebellions which sprung up in 1715 and 1745. But Johnston, the king's secretary, managed matters so dexterously, as to prevent them at this time from coming to extremity. On the contrary, every thing in an ensuing parliament went on very smoothly. His majesty was voted a supply of above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling; six regiments were added to the standing force of the kingdom, and many recruits were raised for the royal navy.

In 1693, the Scots being easy, secure, and freed from the thralldom of religious persecution, began to reflect on the advantages of trade. All ranks of people devised schemes of commerce. In particular, one Paterson, who had noted the opposition which the East-India company in England had met with in obtaining their charter, proposed the institution of a Scots company, which should trade to Africa and the Indies.

As Paterson's scheme was plausible, shares in this company were coveted with the utmost avidity. The parliament had granted it their sanction, and established in 1695 a national bank, which still continues. 300,000 pounds were subscribed in England, and 200,000 pounds were offered by the merchants of Hamburgh. Matters thus went on very favourably; but a severe famine, which subsisted in Scotland for two years, hindered the adventurers from embarking for Darien, where it was proposed to settle the factory, till the year

1698. They then set sail from the Frith of Forth on the 17th of July, and in a number of ships, manned with 1200 sailors and soldiers, laden with proper kinds of merchandize, together with artillery and military stores, steering their course round the Orkney Isles, they took in some provisions at Madeira, and proceeded directly for the Isthmus of Darien, where they took possession of an harbour near Golden-Island, in which it was declared, that neither Spain, nor any other power, had any concern. But several trading companies in different kingdoms having united to oppose them, and applied to king William for that purpose, particularly the Spaniards, French, and Dutch, and the governors of the West-India islands having received orders for the inhabitants to hold no intercourse with the Scots settlers, they were obliged to abandon their project in 1699. The news of which, when it reached Scotland, threw the kingdom into the utmost distress; for the Scots had exhausted all their wealth and credit in the undertaking: so that thousands of families were reduced nearly to a state of beggary.

In 1700, the Jacobites in Scotland imagined that they had good cause for exultation. The death of the duke of Gloucester, which happened on the 29th of July, removed, as they imagined, the only bar to the interest of the prince of Wales. That faction, therefore, grew eager, vigilant, and enterprising; and indeed affairs in England wore about this time such a melancholy aspect, that, if the abdicated king would have suffered his son to have receded from strict Popery in matters of religion, it has been thought, that an insurrection in his favour, and, in the end, a revolution, would have taken place. King William, not insensible how unpopular he was, thought
fit

fit to order a parliament in Scotland (which met on the 28th of October) constituting the duke of Queensbury high commissioner. In this parliament, the ministers and their agents stirred themselves so successfully, that the king's interest gained much ground. It was declared, that the safety and happiness of the people of Scotland depended, under God, upon the preservation of his majesty's government and Protestant succession; to maintain which, they passed an act for keeping on foot three thousand men, for two years, to be maintained by a land-tax. King William expressed a due sense of the loyal proceedings of this parliament; and the earl of Argyle was honoured with the title of duke, for having concurred with the high commissioner in the management of this session. These proceedings, added to the settlement of the crown of Great-Britain, which was made the following year upon the princess Sophia, electress of Hanover, rendered the death of James, which happened at St. Germain's on the 16th of September following, as well as the proclamation of his pretended son in France, as king of England, of no avail.

A very important project, which William, ever since his succession to the crown, seems to have had at heart, has not yet been disclosed. It was an union of his two kingdoms; which having before warmly recommended to the serious consideration of his parliament, he appears this year to have endeavoured to accomplish. He had made great arrangement for this important end, and was proceeding with the utmost spirit, when death diverted his purpose, and called him to an union with the blessed.

This excellent prince left the world on the 8th of March 1702, in the fifty-second year of his age, having worn his earthly crown thirteen years;

years; during which, with a character formed of as many great and good qualities, and shaded by as few blemishes as perhaps are incident to humanity, he was doubtless a glorious instrument in the hand of Providence to rescue these realms from the slavish yoke of Popery, and its constant attendant, arbitrary power.

ANNE, the Hundredth and Thirteenth Sovereign.

The death of William II. operated differently on the various parties, which at this time subsisted in Scotland. The pretender's party entertained such mistaken notions of his successor, that to place their young master on the throne in her stead, was conceived to be a matter easily practicable. The Presbyterians, who had also imbibed ideas equally false, were seized with a panic; but happily for the whole kingdom, the bold conjectures of the one were as futile, as the apprehensions of the other were alarming and dismal.

The duke of Queensbury, the earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Seafield, Hyndford, and Selkirk, of whom the Scots ministry consisted, was a knot of staunch revolutionists. Immediately on the notice of king William's decease, they assembled at the cross of Edinburgh, and with the usual solemnity proclaimed the princess Anne of Denmark, who had already taken the coronation oath in the presence of twelve Scots counsellors. Her first express into Scotland, after these proceedings, continued the old parliament, and confirmed the duke of Queensbury in his office of high commissioner. But the Jacobites, eager to disturb the peace of their country, declared, that this convention-parliament, which had continued thro' king William's whole reign, was by his death dissolved, and that it became necessary to call a new one.

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This opposition was headed by the duke of Hamilton, who was joined, among others, by the marquis of Tweedale, and the earls Mareschall and Rothes; so that when the parliament met on the 9th of June, they objected to it's legality; and having entered a formal protest against all it's proceedings, they withdrew, and were accompanied by seventy-six members. In the mean time, administration conducted the requisite measures for the establishment of their own legality, dignity, and power, with cool circumspection, and with a steady vigour. They expelled Sir Alexander Bruce, for using some severe expressions against Presbytery, and then passed the six acts which follow:—For recognizing her majesty's royal authority—For adjourning the court of session—For the legality of their present meeting—For the security of the Protestant religion, and Presbyterian church-government—For a land-tax—And the last act enabled the queen to appoint commissioners, who should meet in order to consult about a union of the two kingdoms, as her majesty had earnestly recommended that important object to their consideration.

All these acts were naturally disagreeable to the seceders, who resolved to send a remonstrance to the queen, which they accordingly drew up; but the lord Balantyre their agent was refused an audience; and in Scotland the dean and faculty of advocates were prosecuted by the lord advocate, for having, by a vote amongst themselves, approved of the secession. The seceders were thus gradually falling into contempt, when the queen nominated twenty-three English, and twenty Scots, of the first rank and fortune in both kingdoms, as commissioners to treat on an union; and they met on the 22d day of October, at the
Cockpit,

Cockpit, near Whitehall. On the 20th of the next month, they proceeded to adjust preliminaries, which imported, "That nothing agreed
 " on among themselves should be binding, except
 " ratified by her majesty and the respective parliaments of both nations; and that unless all the heads
 " proposed for the treaty were agreed to, no particular thing agreed on should be binding."

The first proposal, and which was the basis of all the succeeding negotiations, was, "That both
 " nations should be united in one monarchy, and
 " one parliament, with a mutual communication
 " of trade and privileges."

The lord keeper of the great seal of England amended this proposal, and moved, "That the
 " two kingdoms should be inseparably united into
 " one monarchy, under her majesty, and her
 " heirs and successors, and under the same limitations according to the acts of settlement."

To quicken their councils, the queen paid a visit to the commissioners on the 14th of Dec. 1702. But whilst matters were accelerating with mutual harmony, an unlucky mention of the Darien company gave birth to such disputes, as put an end to all further proceedings of this commission. On this unhappy disagreement, the queen, piqued by the supposition that she had been imposed upon, changed the Scots ministry the following year.

On the 6th of May a parliament assembled; and the duke of Queensbury, who still maintained his post of high commissioner, acted so artfully in conjunction with the new ministry, that even the Jacobites in general found it needless to oppose his measures, but joined the revolutionists in voting for a supply. Pursuant to an act of indemnity which her majesty had issued, previous to the meeting of this parliament, many disaffected

affected

fect members returned home, and a coalition, at least in appearance, took place between both parties for some time.

Two bills of the greatest importance were, in consequence of this unanimity, carried against the court. The first imported "That after the queen's decease, without heirs of her body, no person, at the same time king or queen of Scotland and England, should have the sole power of making war with any prince, state, or potentate, whatsoever, without consent of parliament." The second was intended to circumscribe the prerogative: it was called an Act of Security, which occasioned much altercation in parliament, and such disturbance in the city, that the guards were kept in readiness to suppress any insurrection which might ensue, and to protect the high commissioner, who had refused the royal assent.

Mr. Fletcher, of Salton, greatly distinguished himself during these commotions in parliament. Most part of this extraordinary man's life had been spent in Holland with the earl of Argyle, and the duke of Monmouth: his principles were thoroughly republican; and he possessed consummate abilities, undaunted courage, and inflexible integrity: he planned both the late acts; and having observed that the nation must be enslaved, should it either willingly, or by commission, submit to the successor of England, without such stipulations as should secure their independency, he boldly declared, that for his own part, he would rather join in the nomination of some bigoted Papist, under those conditions, than of the truest Protestant, if they must be dispensed with. But Fletcher (who in the course of this session, proposed many patriotic bills) was told by the lord chancellor, with great truth and frankness,

ness, that his schemes were adapted to a commonwealth, and were inconsistent, and therefore useless, under a monarchy. In short, the commissioner, who had hampered himself by his over politic compliance with the Jacobites, not knowing rightly how to act at this delicate juncture, prorogued the parliament to the 12th of October.

In 1704, during the recess, an odd kind of plot was discovered to have been conducted by Simon Fraser, the same man, who, when lord Lovat, suffered on Tower-hill at London, for having a chief hand in the rebellion of 1745. Fraser had neither fortune nor principle, having been outlawed for ravishing a sister of the marquis of Athol. Thus abandoned, he repaired to the court of St. Germain's, where he insinuated, that if the French king would furnish him with officers, ammunition, and money, he could raise such a body of troops in favour of the pretender, as might be sufficient to place him on the throne of Great-Britain. Lewis seemed to promise him his assistance; but Fraser's character was so infamous, that though he was sent back into Scotland, to use his interest amongst the clans, two persons were sent along with him to judge of his connections with the Jacobite nobility, and to report back to France how far he was to be depended on. Fraser, mean while, disclosed the affair to the duke of Queensbury; and as he pretended that what he had done was merely to found the French king, for the security of queen Anne's government, the duke encouraged him in holding a correspondence with the Jacobites. On the other hand, when he returned into France, he changed his story, and desired leave of Lewis XIV. to maintain a connection with the Scots Protestants for the service of the pretender.

tender. But the French king had received such accounts from his agents, as led him to conclude, with great justice, that Frazer was the spy of both parties, and was endeavouring to recover his shattered fortune, by declaring himself to be by turns a friend of each, at the same time that in reality he was well affected to neither. In consequence of this opinion, Lewis put an effectual stop to his intrigues, by clapping him into the Bastile, where he was confined several years.

The affair being published in Scotland, the duke of Queensbury, though he had disclosed the motives of his conduct, which were in general satisfactory, was thought, by having given so much countenance to that abandoned outlaw, to have been the pretender's friend: he therefore lost his post of high commissioner, which was conferred on the marquis of Tweedale.

On the 6th of July, the parliament met after the prorogation; and proceeded, in the first place, to settle the succession. The earl of Marchmont passed an act for excluding any Popish successor; but this motion, though highly constitutional, was objected to, and violent heats between the court and the country party succeeded. At last an expedient was offered by Sir James Falconer of Phesdo, which, when put to the vote, met with a general assent. In consequence thereof, it was resolved, "That the parliament would
" not proceed to nominate a successor, until a
" previous treaty with England, respecting commerce and other matters, should be discussed;
" and that it would make the necessary limitations
" and conditions of government, before the successor should be nominated." A supply was however granted; and they confirmed the act of security, which provided, "That in case the queen should
" die

“ die without issue, a parliament should immedi-
 “ ately meet and declare the successor to the
 “ crown, different from the person possessing the
 “ throne of England, unless before that period a
 “ settlement should be made in parliament, of
 “ the rights and liberties of the nation indepen-
 “ dent on English councils.” And they were im-
 powered, by a clause in it, to arm the subjects, and
 put them into discipline for the defence of the
 kingdom. The whole vote, but especially this
 clause, which the English interpreted to be a pre-
 lude of hostilities, was so resented by their parlia-
 ment, that, on the 11th of January following, a grand
 committee, appointed to consider of the state of the
 nation with regard to Scotland, came to some reso-
 lutions for a bill, which was strongly urged to be
 passed for the security of the kingdom of Eng-
 land. By which resolutions the English took
 up the indecision of the Scots parliament with a
 very high hand, and were determined to shut up
 all connections of commerce, unless the long-
 desired union could be effected. In the mean
 while, the marquis of Tweeddale was laid aside;
 and the duke of Argyle, a most promising young
 nobleman, was, in 1705, appointed high com-
 missioner in his room. On this, Tweeddale joined
 his friends, who had been removed along with
 him, and formed a party under the name of the
 Flying Squadron. This party, though it owed it's
 rise to Tweeddale's dismissal, was desirous to dis-
 tinguish itself as a knot of independent patriots.
 And as not one of the members was a Jacobite,
 they supported the appearance with some pro-
 priety, and, though it was not their intention,
 greatly facilitated the union; for as they joined
 the Jacobites, who violently opposed it, the con-
 siderate and unprejudiced part of the kingdom
 concluded,

concluded, that an union must be effected to save the honour of the nation, and also from a war, and probably an introduction of the pretender. The necessity of an union, therefore, appeared daily more apparent. It was wisely thought to be a chimerical and impracticable scheme for one sovereign to govern two separate, independent nations, differing as much from each other in laws and interests, as in genius and pursuits; unless standing armies, like those of Charles II. and his brother, were always maintained to enforce due obedience.

As the revival of such military government was much dreaded, the-parliament proceeded in good earnest to settle this desirable treaty. They met in autumn; and the duke of Hamilton proposed, that the act for the union should have a clause, importing, "That it should no ways derogate from any fundamental laws, ancient privileges, offices, rights, liberties, and dignities of the Scots nation." But this motion was overruled. At length, after much altercation, and violent opposition from the republican genius of Fletcher, the act for the treaty of union was completed; and to the amazement of the Jacobites, the duke of Hamilton himself moved (and, being put to the vote, it was carried in the affirmative) that the queen should again appoint commissioners. This weighty point being finished, a supply of fifty thousand pounds sterling was voted, and then the parliament adjourned.

No sooner was the queen apprised of the resolves of the Scots parliament, than she removed, in 1706, the marquis of Annandale from his office of secretary of state, to that of lord president of the council, and supplied his place by the earl of Mar. She then appointed proper persons to be commissioners

commissioners for England and Scotland, who assembled again at the Cockpit on the 16th day of April. Preliminaries were adjusted in much the same manner as they had been on the same occasion four years before, which were agreed to by the Scots commissioners. A fœderal and not an incorporated union was the aim of every one of them, except the duke of Queensbury, when they first assembled: but the English commissioners declaring themselves so fully convinced, that nothing but an entire union would settle a perfect and lasting friendship between the two kingdoms, the other Scots commissioners, for the good of their country, concurred with the duke of Queensbury.

The queen paid them two visits; and they proceeded with such diligence, that by the 22d of July, the articles of this famous treaty were finished, ingrossed, and executed, by every commissioner, except Lockhart of Carnwath, who could never be prevailed on to sign or seal it. The day following, the lord keeper, in the name of the English, presented the important instrument to her majesty, at the palace of St. James's; a sealed duplicate was also delivered by the lord chancellor of Scotland; the queen received them with the highest satisfaction, and made a gracious reply to a short speech made on the occasion by each commissioner.

We shall here, in order to make this new History of Scotland more complete and valuable than any other work of the kind, present our readers with a correct copy of the Articles of the Union between Scotland and England.

ARTICLES

ARTICLES of the UNION
between SCOTLAND and ENGLAND.

"I. **T**HAT the two kingdoms of Scotland and England shall, from the 1st of May 1707, be united into one kingdom, by the name of *Great-Britain*; and that the ensigns armorial of the said united kingdoms be such as her majesty shall appoint; and the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George be conjoined in such a manner as her majesty shall think fit, and used in all flags, banners, standards, and ensigns, both by sea and land.

"II. That the succession to the united monarchy of Great-Britain shall be to the princess Sophia and her heirs; and that all Papists, or persons that marry Papists, shall be for ever excluded from inheriting the imperial crown of Great-Britain, agreeable to the provision for the descent of the crown of England, made in the first year of the reign of their late majesties king William and queen Mary, entitled, "An act for declaring the rights and liberties of the subject," &c.

"III. That the united kingdoms of Great-Britain shall be represented by one and the same parliament, to be stiled the Parliament of Great-Britain.

"IV. That the subjects of the united kingdoms shall have freedom of trade and navigation to all places within the same, and plantations belonging to it; and that there be a communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, except where it is otherwise expressly agreed in these articles.

"V. That all ships or vessels belonging to the Scots, at the time of ratifying the treaty of Union of the two kingdoms in the parliament of Scotland, shall be deemed British built, the owners making oath that, at the time of ratifying the treaty of Union in the parliament of Scotland, the same did, in the whole or in part, belong to them.

"VI. All

“VI. All parts of the united kingdom to be under the same regulations of trade, and liable to the same customs and duties, excepting and reserving the duties upon export and import of such particular commodities, from which any persons, the subjects of either kingdom, are especially liberated and exempted by their private rights, which, after the Union, are to remain safe and entire to them in all respects as before the same; and that from and after the Union, no Scots cattle carried into England shall be liable to any other duties, either on the public or private accounts, than those duties to which the cattle of England are or shall be liable within the said kingdom; and seeing by the laws of England there are rewards granted upon the exportation of certain kinds of grain, wherein oats grinded or ungrinded are not expressed, that from and after the Union, when oats shall be sold for 15s. sterling per qr. or under, there shall be paid 2s. 6d. sterling for every quarter of the oatmeal exported, in the terms of the law, whereby, and so long as, rewards are granted for the exportation of other grains; and that the beer of Scotland have the same reward as barley: and in respect the importation of victual into Scotland would prove a discouragement to tillage; therefore, that the prohibition, as now in force by the law of Scotland, against importation of victual from Ireland, or any other place beyond sea, into Scotland, do after the Union remain in the same force as now it is, until more proper and effectual ways be provided by the parliament of Great-Britain for the discouraging the importation of the said victual from beyond sea.

“VII. That all parts of the united kingdom be liable to the same excises upon all exciseable liquors, excepting only that the 34 gallons English barrel of beer or ale, amounting to 12 gallons Scots present measure, sold in Scotland by the brewer at 9s. 6d. sterling, excluding all duties, and retailed, including duties and the retailer's profit, at 2d. the Scots
pint,

pint, or eighth part of the Scots gallon, be not after the Union liable, on account of the present excise upon excisable liquors in England, to any higher imposition than 2s. sterling upon the afore-said 34 gallons English barrel, being 12 gallons the present Scots measure.

“VIII. Foreign salt in England shall pay the same duty as in Scotland: but in regard to the duties of great quantities of foreign salt imported, may be very heavy upon the merchant importer; that therefore all foreign salt imported into Scotland shall be cellared and locked up under the care of the merchant importer, and the officers employed for levying the duties on salt: and that the merchant may have what quantities thereof his occasions may require, not under a weight of 40 bushels at a time, upon his giving security for the duty of what quantities he receives, payable in 6 months. That salt made in Scotland shall be exempted for 7 years from the English duty; but from the expiration of the said 7 years, shall be subject to the same duties as salt made in England: that Scotland shall, after the said 7 years, remain exempted from the duty of 2s. 4d. per bushel on home salt, imposed by an act made in England in the ninth and tenth of king William III. of England: and if the parliament of Great-Britain shall, at or before the expiring of the said 7 years, substitute any other fund in the place of the said 2s. 4d. of excise upon the bushel of home salt, Scotland shall, after the said 7 years, bear a proportion of the said fund, and have equivalent in the terms of this treaty. No salt whatsoever shall be brought from Scotland to England by land in any manner, under certain penalties denounced. All flesh exported from Scotland to England, and shipped in Scotland to be exported beyond sea; and provisions for ships in Scotland and foreign voyages, may be salted with Scots salt, paying the same duty for what salt is so employed, as the like quantity of such salt pays in England, and under the same penalties, forfeitures, and provisions,

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vifions, for preventing of frauds, as are mentioned in the laws of England. And that, for the encouragement of the herring fishery, there shall be allowed and paid to the subjects, inhabitants of Great-Britain, during the present allowances for other fishes, 10s. 5d. sterling for every barrel of white herring that shall be exported from Scotland; and that they shall be allowed 5s. sterling for every barrel of beef or pork salted with foreign salt, without mixture of British or Irish salts, and exported for sale from Scotland to parts beyond sea; alterable by the parliament of Great-Britain.

“IX. That whenever the sum of 1,997,763l. 8s. 4½d. shall be enacted by the parliament of Great-Britain on land, that part of the united kingdom, now called Scotland, shall be charged with the additional sum of 48,000l. as the quota of Scotland for such tax, and so proportionably for any greater or lesser sum raised in England on land; the said quota to be assessed in the same manner as the cess now is in Scotland, but subject to such regulations as shall be made in the parliament of Great-Britain.

“X. That Scotland shall not be charged with the stamp duties now in force in England.

“XI. Nor with the duties payable in England on windows.

“XII. Nor those on coals and culm.

“XIII. Scotland should not pay the malt duties during it's continuance in England. (This was to expire the 24th of June 1707.)

“XIV. Scotland shall not be charged with any other duties imposed by the parliament of England before the Union, except those consented to in this treaty; and if the parliament of England, in their provision for the service of the year 1707, shall impose any further customs, Scotland shall have an equivalent for the share thereof they may be liable to; and Scotland shall not be charged with any imposition on malt made or consumed in that kingdom during this war.

“XV. Whereas,

“ XV. Whereas, by the terms of this treaty, the subjects of Scotland, for preserving an equality of trade throughout the united kingdoms, will be liable to several customs and excises now payable in England, which will be applicable towards payment of the debts of England contracted before the Union, it is agreed, that an equivalent shall be answered to Scotland for such part of the English debts, as Scotland may hereafter become liable to by reason of the Union, other than such for which appropriations have been made by parliament in England, of the customs and other duties on exports and imports, excises on all exciseable liquors, in respect of which the debts equivalent are herein before provided; which equivalent is herein stipulated to be 398,085l. 10s. sterling, to be granted by the parliament of England, in the manner as in this article is particularly and at large explained.

“ XVI. That the coin be of the same standard throughout the united kingdom as now in England, and a mint to be continued in Scotland, under the same rule as the mint in England; and the present officers of that mint be continued.

“ XVII. That the same weights and measures be used throughout the united kingdom as are now used in England; and standards shall be kept in burghs, agreeable to the standard of the English exchequer.

“ XVIII. That the laws for the regulation of trade, custom, and such excises which Scotland is to be liable to, shall be the same as those in England; other laws in Scotland to remain as before the Union, but alterable by the parliament of Great-Britain. Laws which concern public right, policy, and civil government, may be the same throughout the united kingdom; but no alteration shall be made in the laws which concern private right, except for evident utility of the subjects of Scotland.

“ XIX. The courts of session, and other courts, shall remain in Scotland the same as before the Union, subject nevertheless to such regulations, for

the better administration of public justice, as shall be made by the parliament of Great-Britain; and that hereafter none shall be named by her majesty, and her royal successors, to be ordinary lords of session, but such who have served in the college of justice as advocates, or principal clerks of session for the space of 5 years, or as writers to the signet for the space of 10 years, with this provision, that no writer to the signet be capable to be admitted a lord of the session, unless he undergo a private and public trial on the civil law before the faculty of advocates, and be found by them qualified for the said office, 2 years before he be named to be a lord of the session; yet so as the qualification made, or to be made, for capacitating persons to be made ordinary lords of the session, may be altered by the parliament of Great-Britain, &c.

“XX. That all heritable offices, superiorities, heritable jurisdictions, offices for life, and jurisdictions for life, be reserved for the owners thereof, as rights of property, in the same manner as they are now enjoyed by the laws of Scotland; this treaty in any wise notwithstanding.

“XXI. The rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland, as they now are, shall remain entire after the Union, and notwithstanding thereof.

“XXII. That by virtue of this treaty, 16 of the peers of Scotland, at the time of the Union, shall sit and vote in the house of lords, and 45 members of the representatives of Scotland, in the house of commons, of the parliament of Great-Britain; the choice whereof to be according to the act passed in Scotland for that purpose, which act is hereby declared to be as valid as if it were a part of, and engrossed in this treaty: and in case her majesty shall, on the 1st of May 1707, declare this present parliament to be the first of Great-Britain, the present parliament of England may be so on the part of England, and the 16 peers and the 45 commoners to sit with them, such parliament to continue no longer than the English parliament by law is allowed to continue.

“XXIII. That

“ XXIII. That the aforesaid 16 peers of Scotland, mentioned in the last preceding article, to sit in the house of lords of the parliament of Great-Britain, shall have all the privileges of parliament which the peers of England now have, and which they, or any peers of Great-Britain, shall have after the Union, and particularly the right of sitting upon the trials of peers; and that all peers of Scotland, and their successors to their honours and dignities, shall, from and after the Union, be peers of Great-Britain, and have rank and precedency next and immediately after the peers, and the orders and degrees in England at the time of the Union, and before all peers of Great-Britain of the like orders and degrees. who may be created after the Union.

“ XXIV. That from and after the Union, there shall be one great seal for the united kingdom of Great-Britain, which shall be different from the great seal now used in either kingdom: and that the quarter of the arms, and the rank of the precedency of Lyon, king at arms, of the kingdom of Scotland, as may best suit the Union, be left to her majesty; and that the privy seal, signet, casset, &c. now used in Scotland, be continued; but that the said seals be delivered and adapted to the Union, as her majesty shall think fit: that the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, the records of parliament. and all other records, rolls, and registers whatsoever, both public and private, general and particular, and warrants thereof, continue to be kept as they are, within that part of the kingdom called Scotland, and that they shall so remain in all time coming, notwithstanding of the Union.

“ XXV. That all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they are contrary to or inconsistent with the terms of these articles, or any of them, shall, from and after the Union, close, and become void, and shall be so declared to be by the respective parliaments of the said kingdoms.”

Such is the tenor of that treaty, which had the public faith alone for it's guarantee, and that destroyed

the independency of each kingdom upon the other; but opened a channel through which a greater tide of splendor, power, and opulence, has flowed into Great-Britain, than could ever have been beheld by the natives of England and Scotland when disunited.

Notwithstanding these unanimous proceedings at London, the bulk of the Scots nation was highly averse to the Union, which, till ratified by that parliament, was still incomplete.

The duke of Queensbury acted as high commissioner at the meeting of the parliament in Scotland; and on the 3d day of October he produced a letter from the queen, in which she hoped that the terms of the treaty would prove acceptable. These terms had till then been industriously kept secret; but when, after being recited in parliament, they became known to the whole nation, such a flame kindled, as, it was imagined, no art or industry could possibly extinguish: yet, amidst all the fury of this national antipathy, the dukes of Queensbury and Argyle, the earls of Montrose, Seafield and Stair, and those other truly patriotic noblemen, who espoused the Union, silenced the popular clamour in so great a measure, as at last to effect a solemn ratification of the treaty on January the 16th, 1707, and which received the royal assent on March the 6th following, by touching it with the sceptre, conformably to the old custom that still subsists of passing all other acts. To effect this, the above lords reasoned publicly in parliament, and soothed the populace without, with the most flattering expectations. By promoting the insertion of an act in treaty, which settled unalterably the Presbyterian church government as the established form of religion in Scotland, they cooled the resentment of the clergy; who, notwithstanding the toleration granted by her majesty soon afterwards to episcopacy, have since, even amidst the terror of rebellion, preserved equally inviolate their faith and loyalty. And thus, with the timely distribution of 20,000*l.* the commissioner

missioner having accomplished the great purpose of the court, adjourned the parliament on the 25th of March, and set out for London. Forty noblemen with their equipage, and upwards of 400 gentlemen on horseback, met him as he approached the capital. Next day, amidst fresh shouts of the people, he waited on the queen at Kensington, where he met with a gracious reception.

After the treaty of Union had been perfectly completed by the concurrent ratification of the English parliament, Scotland ceased to be an independent kingdom. At this period therefore, the history of that nation should necessarily close; but as North-Britain has since teemed with some great events, it is presumed that a summary of the most important transactions relative to that part of our island down to the present time, may be considered as no improper or disagreeable conclusion to this work.

After the entire completion of the Union, the duke of Queensbury was immediately appointed secretary of state for Scotland; an exchequer was established there in 1708; and in the year following, some articles for the treaty underwent a few material alterations. The eldest sons of Scots peers, particularly, were disqualified from being chosen in parliament for any part of Scotland; as was also a Scots peer, if he was made a peer of Great-Britain, from voting for the 16 peers, who at every new parliament are elected to represent Scotland in the British house of lords. During the remaining years of queen Anne's reign, little transpired worthy notice, besides the famous duel which was fought in Hyde-Park, on the 15th of November 1712, between the duke of Hamilton and lord Mohun. After a most obstinate conflict, the latter was killed on the spot, and the former expired the next day.

GEORGE I. the Hundredth and Fourteenth King.

On the death of her majesty queen Anne, which happened on Aug. 1, 1714, the crown devolved,

without opposition, on the illustrious house of Hanover. The princess Sophia, on whom the crown had been settled, being dead, her son and heir, the elector of Hanover, was proclaimed king of Great-Britain, &c. with the customary ceremonies and solemnity. The Jacobites in Scotland thought the present a fit occasion to promote a rebellion, in favour of the pretender. That ill fated man had assumed, on his father's death, the title of *Chevalier de St. George*, under which he lived in the foreign courts with some degree of reputation. The earl of Mar, the late queen's secretary for Scotland, and who, notwithstanding his professions of loyalty to king George, expressed both by letter and oaths, was now the head of the party which openly espoused the pretender's cause. In a very short time, he collected together 8000 men, set up the pretender's standard September 6, 1715, and, fixing his head-quarters at Perth, proclaimed the pretender, and maintained a correspondence with Mr. Forster, knight of the shire for Northumberland, and also with viscount Kenmure, the earls of Carnwath, Wintoun, Nithisdale, Derwentwater, the lord Widdrington, and others of the nobility in the west of Scotland, who were inclined to Jacobitism. But though this rebellion had at first a most formidable appearance, the king's troops, under the generals Carpenter and Wills, and the duke of Argyle, defeated on the very same day, Sunday Nov. 3, Forster, with the English rebels, and the earl of Mar and his adherents; the former at Preston, and the latter at Sheriff-Muir. The earls of Derwentwater and the viscount Kenmure being the principal men taken prisoners, were carried ignominiously to London, where they soon suffered decapitation as traitors. The earls of Wintoun and Nithisdale were also taken, but made their escape. The troops of Mar grew mutinous, and retired in parties to their respective homes.

At the close of the same year, the pretender himself landed from a Dunkirk privateer incog. at Peterhead.

Peterhead. Causing himself to be proclaimed wheresoever he went, he arrived at Scone on the 7th of January following, where he gave out that he intended to be crowned. But his followers, who were divided amongst themselves, and in general disheartened, receiving intelligence that the duke of Argyle was in full march against them, at the head of a considerable body of troops, they persuaded him rather to retreat; and he followed their advice so literally, that flying with the utmost haste to Montrose, he threw himself with the earls of Mar and Melfort, and other chiefs, into a small vessel, and February the 14th set sail for France. This ill concerted rebellion proved the ruin of many considerable families in Scotland; as did the South-sea bubble in England in 1719.

Spain, in 1717, threatened Great-Britain with another invasion, in favour of the pretender, under the command of the duke of Ormond, who had been impeached and attainted of high treason, for the part he acted in the connection with the infamous ministry of queen Anne's four last years. The Spanish fleet were dispersed by violent storms, and only the earls of Seaforth and Mareschal, and the marquis of Tullibardine, with about 400 men, landed at Kintair in Scotland: about 1600 Highlanders soon joined them; but major-general Wightman as soon drove them from their fortresses, made many of the Spaniards prisoners, and forced the rest to make the best of their way to the islands, from whence they transported themselves back to Spain.

The Scots do not appear to have had much hand in the schemes formed in favour of the pretender, in 1722, for which the bishop of Rochester (Atterbury) was condemned to exile; yet the king, in 1725, passed an act for disarming the Highlanders, and for building bridges, and opening roads, by which their country might be rendered more easy of access. And this firm and magnanimous prince, kept a strict eye over this part of his dominions to his death, which happened in 1727.

GEORGE

GEORGE II. the Hundredth and Fifteenth King.

No particular event fell out during the first ten years of his reign; but whilst his majesty was at Hanover in 1736, there happened in Edinburgh the following alarming circumstance: a captain of that city-guard, one *Porteous*, too wantonly ordered his men to fire upon the people, for expressing little more than a generous sympathy at the fate of a smuggler, whom he was escorting to an ignominious death. Many persons were killed. And as this crime was doubly atrocious, being, besides the shedding much innocent blood, a direct innovation upon civil liberty, *Porteous* was instantly apprehended, brought fairly to trial, and justly condemned, as guilty of wilful murder. The queen regent, however, sent him down a pardon, of which the populace being apprised, a body of men forced an entrance into the prison where he lay, hauled him forth, led him in triumph to the place of execution, and hanged him to a sign-post. The queen was exasperated at this contempt of her authority. The state-minister accordingly took up the affront; and because Alexander Wilson, the provost of the city, had not proceeded vigorously against the rioters, for apprehending whom large rewards were then offered, he brought a bill into parliament, which would have not only imprisoned the provost, and rendered him incapable of holding any place in the united kingdoms, but have abolished the town-guard, and demolished the gates of the city. The bill was carried through the house of lords, but every Scots member voting against it, the commons rejected it: but Sir Robert was nevertheless determined it should pass; when therefore it was returned to the house of lords, it passed there, but was softened to the disabling Wilson from holding any office of magistracy in Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Great-Britain, and laying a fine of 2000*l.* on the city.

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The heads of clans, being still permitted to live upon and govern their estates, not having such employs as suited best with their inclination at home, maintained an illicit correspondence with the disaffected surviving parties.

These dangerous intrigues grew ripe in 1745. The pretender's son, being invited over by the dissatisfied and desperate clans, and spurred on by France, which had made the whole Stuart race it's tools and dupes, embarked at port St. Lazare, and landed on the coast of Lochabar with the marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sherridan, and many other Scots and Irish adventurers in his train. As he marched on, his followers daily increased, and such uncertain intelligence had the English of this rebellion, that they did not even believe him to be landed, till he had disarmed two companies of foldiers in the neighbourhood of Fort William. The consternation of all ranks of people in England was then great, and increased much, when it was known that the duke of Perth, viscount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, Cameron of Lochiel, with many other men of note, had repaired to the standard of the pretender, whose march was rapid.

He was proclaimed at Perth, Dundee, Edinburgh, and other places: but only in quality of regent, all acts passing in the name of his father. Notwithstanding all this shew, it is a certain fact, that when Sir John Cope, commander in chief of his majesty's forces in that quarter, marched against him with 3000 regular troops and a good train of artillery, the pretender's army scarcely exceeded that number of men, all fresh recruits, and poorly accoutred. The pretender no sooner heard of Cope's arrival, than he advanced to fight him. The general, who had now been joined by two regiments of dragoons, and some well-affected Highlanders, met and engaged him on the 21st of September, near Preston-pans. Cope was shamefully defeated; which gained the pretender and his rebel army so much

much credit, that they advanced a great way into England, and it was thought highly expedient to put the king's forces upon another footing, by appointing them a gallant and much-beloved leader, in the person of his royal highness WILLIAM, duke of Cumberland. The prince accordingly took the command of an army at Edinburgh, which consisted of 14 battalions of infantry, 2 regiments of dragoons, and 1500 Highlanders. Near the beginning of April, he bent his march towards the pretender, who had some time before retreated northward, and lay encamped at Culloden, about a mile from Inverness; but with a very considerable force, having been joined by lord Kilmarnock, lord Balmerino, and many other noblemen. The pretender suffered his highness to pass the Spey without molestation, though he might have disputed it with great advantage, and have cut off his retreat. To defeat the duke, he confidently thought was certain; and to this idle piece of vanity, he sacrificed all his advances to a crown. But the pretender's forces, and with them all his hopes, were totally defeated on April 17. 1746.

The persons of note taken prisoners, were the lords Lovat, Balmerino, and Kilmarnock, who were beheaded; but the earl of Cromarty, and many others, were pardoned. The pretender escaped in a French vessel to Nantz, which, considering the vast rewards offered for his head (30,000*l.* from England, and twice as much from Ireland) was indeed wonderful; especially as many poor Highlanders of both sexes were privy to his haunts for 4 months. His escape, however, served only to preserve his life, for even the pope and Romish clergy soon forgot to pay him any mark of distinction; and on his father's death, so far from keeping alive any pretension to the crown of Great-Britain, he found no friend but his brother the cardinal of York. Such measures were indeed taken by his majesty in consequence of this rebellion, that the revival of any pretender's claim could not have been

been attended by the least shadow of success; as every method was pursued which could serve to prevent any such commotion in future. The Highlanders were all disarmed. and an act was passed in 1747, abolishing the peculiarity of their dress, which it was supposed might otherwise keep party-distinctions alive.

In this desirable work, the loyal Scots, who were by far the majority, were particularly active, and concurred zealously with the parliament in rooting up the feudal forms and constitutions which were till then so fatally adhered to in the Highlands. In a few years, a willing submission to the present happy establishment succeeded; and agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, which through family-pride and prepossessions, had been heretofore neglected, were at the close of this reign cultivated with the greatest assiduity in Scotland.

GEORGE III. the Hundredth and Sixteenth King.

The accession of George III. on the death of his grandfather, which happened in 1760, took place at a period, when Great-Britain was peculiarly happy. Through the whole island there were no separate views, interests, or pursuits; and to this day, whatever tends to throw lustre on the natives of the one part, is acknowledged, by the candid, to be an honour to the other.

When the repeal of the stamp-act in America was agitated in the English parliament in 1766, the merchants of Glasgow, with those of several trading and manufacturing towns in England, petitioned the commons; setting forth their great imports and exports to and from America, the advantages arising from the trade to the colonies, and the several millions owing from the colonists to the merchants in Great-Britain; but all the arguments and facts exhibited in the several petitions were treated with contempt by the supporters of the stamp-duty.

As men celebrated for their genius and abilities form a respectable part of history, it may not be improper

improper to take some notice here of the late Dr. Alexander Monro, sen M.D. F.R.S. who was born at London, September 19, 1697.

After an extensive course of education at London, Paris, and Leyden, he acquired much useful knowledge in physic and surgery; but gained an extraordinary degree of credit both at London and Edinburgh, as an anatomist. In 1720, he began a regular course of anatomical and chirurgical lectures and demonstrations, the first ever delivered in that city; and afterwards founded there a seminary for medical education. He, with the late G. Drummond, Esq. were also nominated the building committee for the Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh, a large, commodious and elegant hospital. He was a director of the bank of Scotland, a justice of peace, and commissioner of high roads. His four surviving children by Isabella, daughter of Sir Donald M'Donald, Bt. are John Monro, Esq. advocate; Dr. Donald Monro, physician in London; Dr. Alex. Monro, physician in Edinburgh; and Mrs. Philip, wife of James Philip, Esq. judge-admiral for Scotland.

His Treatise on the Anatomy of the Bones; his Description of the Lacteal Sac and Theracic Duct; and his Anatomy of the Nerves, are most highly and justly prized.

To sum up his character in a few words: in every society at Edinburgh, for the improvement of arts or letters, he was justly considered as one of it's brightest ornaments; and the societies of London and Paris, established and patronized by royal authority, considered it as an honour to have his name enrolled among the catalogue of their members. As a son, a father, a husband, and a friend, he displayed in private and domestic life a character which challenged admiration; and in the various stations of a student, a teacher, and a practitioner in medicine, he exhibited a bright pattern for imitation. He died, with the resolution of a man and the resignation of a Christian, July 10, 1767, in the seventieth ear of his age.

In February 1779, on the arrival of the news in Scotland, of the repeal of the penal statutes against the Roman Catholics, some of the lower class of people near Edinburgh became very riotous, and destroyed by fire a building intended for the Popish chapel, with the furniture contained in it. They next demolished the Popish chapel in Black-Friars-Wynd, broke the windows of several houses belonging to the Roman Catholics, and were proceeding to destroy the house of Principal Robertson, who they imagined favoured the Popish bill, but were prevented by the dragoons and fencibles. However, several days after this, the mob assembled again, and burnt and destroyed the houses of any Papist they could discover. But a stop was put to further mischiefs by the soldiery; and the damages were ordered to be made good to the sufferers by a tax levied on the inhabitants.

Lord George Gordon, who was tried at Westminster-hall, in February 1781, for high treason, in promoting the riots in and about London, and afterwards honourably acquitted, was by the attorney-general charged with being the author of these mischiefs in Scotland; but how far that charge was founded in truth, does not appear, as it was not insisted on in the trial, by the court.

IMPROVEMENTS LATELY MADE.

Near the beginning of the present reign (in 1768) a navigable canal was set on foot, and afterwards completed, between the Forth and Clyde, under the authority of an act of parliament. The good effects of these canals are very manifest, as provisions, &c. are brought by them much cheaper, and in better condition, to market, than by land-carriage; besides their important use to manufactures, agriculture, and commerce.

As the intercourse between England and Scotland has been more frequent since the Union, particularly for recruiting the army, as well as for a more ready commu-

communication with Ireland, a military road was made at a great expence in 1764 (an act of parliament having been previously obtained for that purpose) from Carlisle to Port Patrick.

A new invention was in 1722 carried into execution at Leith, for working white silk lace, or white thread lace, in a loom, to imitate any pattern whatever, and this lace looks full as well as if sewed, and is much cheaper: it is done from three inches to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a yard wide. An improvement on carpets has also been made by the same manufacturer, to imitate any figures that may be drawn or painted on paper, and much cheaper than any such carpets have been sold for in any part of the kingdom.

Agriculture has undergone great improvements during the present reign; many useful hints in the cultivation of lands and raising seeds and plants, having been taken from the publications of the society established in London for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce; and the Highlands have been much improved in this respect of late years.

The magistrates of Glasgow, in order to reduce the exorbitant price of provision, allowed, in 1773, the country butchers to bring their meat into that city every Wednesday.

With respect to the church or kirk of Scotland, there are above 950 clergy in it, and no distinction of rank amongst them; but a perfect Presbyterian parity and pastoralties. They have also lay-elders, to assist in distributing poor's-money, &c. They have also an ecclesiastical court called a Presbytery, of which there are 77 in Scotland. The provincial synods, which are 15 in all, consist of a number of the adjacent Presbyteries. But the supreme ecclesiastical court in Scotland is the General Assembly. It consists of commissioners annually chosen by Presbyteries, royal boroughs, and universities: the lay-elders form a part of it. And as it is composed of clergy, nobility, judges, lawyers, merchants, country gentlemen, farmers, and persons of
all

all ranks and professions, it becomes thereby an excellent school for eloquence.

With respect to patronage in the church of Scotland, that is, how far the Christian people are to be indulged in the approbation or disapprobation of a pastor, there were several excellent speeches pronounced in the general assembly of 1771, on the following occasion: The Rev. Mr. David Thomson, minister at Gargannock, having received a presentation to be minister at St. Ninian's, a great number of people from Dumfries and other parts opposed his settlement, and on various pleas had staved it off for five years; the Presbytery of Stirling had refused to transport, i. e. translate, him from Gargannock to St. Ninian's; the synod of Perth and Stirling had confirmed this sentence; whereupon an appeal was brought to the assembly; many eloquent speeches were delivered on this subject by the ministers and advocates present; the judgment of the house at length was: "Reverse the sentences of the Presbytery and synod, and order the Presbytery to proceed to the settlement of Mr. Thomson at St. Ninian's with all convenient speed, according to the rules of the church." Against this judgment many protests were taken. Principal Robertson, the moderator, bore a part in these debates; and, on excepting to the use of the word *enemy*, in a Christian assembly, by one Mr. Duff, a country clergyman, was smartly retorted upon by the Rev. Mr. Freebairn, who observed, that "when the sons of God are met, Satan is amongst them, and he is the greatest enemy of all."

PROMOTIONS.

The earl of Dalhousie was appointed high commissioner of the church of Scotland, May 1780.

Andrew Stuart, Esq. appointed sole clerk and keeper of the general register of the sealines and other writs in Scotland.

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David

David Stewart-Montcrieffe, Esq. appointed one of the barons of his majesty's court of exchequer in Scotland.

The king has also appointed Alex. Udny, George Brown, Gilbert Laurie, and Thomas Wharton, Esqrs. to be commissioners of the excise in Scotland.

Amongst other persons of note who have died in the present reign, are the following: 1. Dr. John Gregory, physician, at Edinburgh; he was born May 1725, and died February 1773: he was the fifteenth descendant who held a professorship in a British university. 2. His grace John Murray, duke of Athol, one of the sixteen peers, in 1774. 3. The right hon. Charles Cadogan, lord Cadogan, in 1776. 4. The right hon. Charles Shaw-Cathcart, lord Cathcart, lord high commissioner to the general assembly of Scotland, and one of the sixteen peers, in 1776. 5. David Hume, Esq. whose writings are universally known to be deistical, and inimical to Christianity; he was born at Edinburgh, April 26, 1711, and died there in August 1776. 6. The right hon. William lord Cranston, August 1778. Ditto, lord William Campbell. 7. The right hon. lord George Saltoun, 1781.

In May 1774, upwards of 200 emigrants went from Glasgow to Greenock, to take shipping for America.

Having thus brought down our history to the present time, we close the whole with observing, that as the Union of the two nations was certainly the effect of wise policy resulting from real affection; so it is our most cordial wish, that it may be the highest ambition of every inhabitant of Great-Britain to promote the felicity of each other both in civil and domestic life; that every disagreeable distinction may subside, and that ardent zeal for the public welfare may universally prevail.

F I N I S.



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